Chapter 5

The negative לֹא *lō'* with non-verbal categories

The objective of this chapter is to discuss the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding several non-verbal categories. These categories include, amongst others, nouns and proper names, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, prepositions and pronouns. In this chapter, constructions in which the negative לֹא *lō'* precedes each of these categories will be analysed. Each separate discussion opens with a brief exposé on the characteristics of each category. This is followed by a discussion on the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding each of these categories. Each section will close with a conclusion regarding the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding each category.

5.1 The negative לֹא *lō'* preceding proper names and common nouns

5.1.1 Grammatical aspects of proper names and common nouns

Nouns (including proper names) are characteristically marked for third person in BH: as a subject, the noun co-occurs with a verb that is also marked for the third person. Nouns are also marked for gender (masculine or feminine), and number (singular, plural or dual). Gender is determined by the form of the noun or by the way in which the noun combines with other elements in a sentence (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 175). The gender

of nouns can be expressed on three different levels: morphological, syntactic or semantic:[48]

- On the morphological level gender is indicated by means of a suffix.
- On the syntactic level gender is indicated by means of agreement features of words (such as adjectives and verbs).
- On the semantic level gender refers to the actual sex (in real life).

In BH only two genders are identified on morphological and syntactic level, namely masculine and feminine. Hebrew does not have a neuter as in Greek or Latin. On semantic level, however, a distinction is made between masculine, feminine and neuter (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 176). Below, the focus will be on the masculine/feminine distinction on the grammatical and syntactic levels.

Number is a grammatical (morphological and syntactic) characteristic of nouns. Morphologically, nouns in BH have singular, plural and dual forms. The dual forms are mainly reserved for objects that occur in pairs (such as parts of the body) and for certain time indications (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 181).

5.1.2 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding common nouns and proper names

The data searches have yielded 181 cases of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding common nouns (cf Addendum M). These 181 cases include all the morphological varieties of the negative לֹא *lō'*, as discussed in Chapter 2. In order to provide a proper exposition of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the common nouns and the proper names, these will be discussed in separate sections. Section 5.1.2 (a) and 5.1.2 (b) discuss the common nouns, while section 5.1.2 (c) focusses on the proper names. Section 5.1.2 (a) focuses on the negation of single nouns. Section 5.1.2 (b) discusses the negation of common nouns in verbless[49] and verbal clauses (where applicable). Some scholars

48 Cf Kroeze (1994) for a discussion on this three-dimensional indication of gender in BH, in contrast to the traditional division into only grammatical and natural gender.

49 For a discussion on the structure of nominal sentences/clauses, cf Zewi (2000). She discusses the possibility of a tripartite structure of nominal clauses in contrast to the bipartite structure of the subject and predicate. These tripartite nominal clauses refer to nominal sentences that include a third independent personal pronoun in addition to other sentence members which function as the subject and predicate (Zewi 2000: 53).

might propose that Sections 5.1.2 (a) and 5.1.2 (b) should be discussed as a single unit as both discuss common nouns. However, there seems to be a difference in nuance between the negation of these two sections and they will be discussed separately. Section 5.1.2 (c) will consider the negation of proper names in verbless and verbal clauses (where applicable).

(a) The negation of single nouns

The focus of this section is the negation of single nouns. The example in (1) illustrates the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding single nouns:

(1) Deut 32[21]

הֵם קִנְאוּנִי בְלֹא־אֵל כִּעֲסוּנִי בְּהַבְלֵיהֶם וַאֲנִי אַקְנִיאֵם בְּלֹא־עָם בְּגוֹי נָבָל אַכְעִיסֵם׃

hēm qinʾûnî bᵉlōʾ-ʾēl kiᶜᵃsûnî bᵉhablêhem waᶜᵃnî ʾaqnîʾēm bᵉlōʾ-ᶜām bᵉgôy nābāl ʾakᶜîsēm

they made-envious-they-me with-not-god-(noun masc sing) angered-they-me with-idols-their and-I will-make-angry-I-them with-not-people-(noun masc sing) with-nation-of fool will-provoke-I-them

They made me jealous with a non-god; they angered me with their idols, but I will make them envious with a non-people; with a foolish nation will I provoke them.

Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 660) typify this usage of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* as that of an item adverb.[50] Lettinga (1976: 144) refers to this particular use of the לֹא *lōʾ* as the negation of separate words, usually in compounds, as לֹא דָבָר *lōʾ dābār (nonentity)*. In such compounds it seems, that the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* ranges only over the single noun.

(b) The negation of noun clauses in verbal and verbless clauses

This discussion refers to the negation of the noun clause in verbal and verbless clauses. There is a difference in nuance between this type of negation and the use of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in compounds as discussed in 5.1.2 (a). Consider the following example (2):

50 Cf also Koehler *et al* (1974: 486) for a reference to this particular use of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*.

(2) Gen 20[12]

וְגַם־אָמְנָה אֲחֹתִי בַת־אָבִי הִיא אַךְ לֹא בַת־אִמִּי וַתְּהִי־לִי לְאִשָּׁה׃
wᵉgam-ʾomnâ ʾᵃḥōtî bat-ʾābî hîʾ ʾak lōʾ bat-ʾimmî wattᵉhî-lî lᵉʾišša
and-yet-truly sister-my daughter-of-father-my she however not daughter-of-mother-my and-became-she-to-me for-wife
And yet, she really is my sister, the daughter of my father though not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife.

In example (2) the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the common noun בַּת *bat* in a verbless clause.

The example in (3) is an example of the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* preceding a common noun:

(3) Jer 48[27]

וְאִם לוֹא הַשְּׂחֹק הָיָה לָךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל
wᵉʾim lôʾ haśśᵉḥōq hāyâ lᵉkā yiśrāʾēl
and-if not the-mockery-(noun masc sing) was-he to-you Israel
Was Israel for you not mockery?

In (3) the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* immediately precedes the common noun הַשְּׂחֹק *haśśᵉḥōq*. The NIV translates this particular verse as *Was not Israel the object of your ridicule?* It seems that the NIV considers the negative to be taken with the proper name *Israel*, and not the common noun הַשְּׂחֹק *haśśᵉḥōq*.

In example (4) וְלֹא *wᵉlōʾ* negates the common noun בְּרָכָה *bᵉrākâ*:

(4) Gen 27[12]

וְהֵבֵאתִי עָלַי קְלָלָה וְלֹא בְרָכָה׃
wᵉhēbêtî ʿālay qᵉlālâ wᵉlōʾ bᵉrākâ
…and-will-bring-I upon-myself curse and-not blessing
…and I would bring upon myself a curse and not a blessing.

Examples (3) and (4) exhibit the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding a definite and indefinite noun. In (3) לֹא *lōʾ* precedes a definite common noun and in (4) an indefinite common noun.

In (5) we encounter an example of the preposition בְּ *bᵉ* preceding the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ. In this example the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ precedes a common noun. This example is illustrated to critically discuss a proposal made by Clines (1998: 492):

(5) Lev 15[25]

וְאִשָּׁה כִּי־יָזוּב זוֹב דָּמָהּ יָמִים רַבִּים בְּלֹא עֶת־נִדָּתָהּ

wᵉʾiššâ kî-yāzûb zôb dāmāh yāmîm rabbîm bᵉlōʾ ʿet-niddātāh

and-woman if-discharges-he discharge-of blood-(noun masc sing)-her days many in-not time-of-menstruation-her…

When a woman has a discharge of her blood for many days (in not) outside her menstruation…

In (5) בְּלֹא *bᵉlōʾ* precedes the common noun עֶת־נִדָּתָהּ *ʿet-niddātāh*. Clines (1998: 492) utilises this very same verse when discussing the occurrence of בְּלֹא *bᵉlōʾ* preceding common nouns. They argue that it should be translated as *without, with non-, for non-, when it is not,* and so forth. It is an open-ended question as to whether the negative לֹא *lōʾ* renders the meaning of *without, outside, with non-, for non-, when it is not,* and so forth or whether this meaning is solely inferred from the preposition בְּ *bᵉ*. Again it is argued that Clines does not properly consider the minimum contribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*, and focuses too strongly on the categories preceding the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. As it falls outside the scope of this research to determine the exact contribution of, for example, the preposition בְּ *bᵉ* preceding the negative לֹא *lōʾ*, it is an open-ended matter still requiring further research.

In examples (6) and (7) the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes common nouns. Holladay (1971: 170) proposes that they should be translated as circumstantial clauses. The examples in (6) and (7) are the examples used by Holladay to illustrate his proposal:

(6) Ps 59[4]

כִּי הִנֵּה אָרְבוּ לְנַפְשִׁי יָגוּרוּ עָלַי עַזִּים לֹא־פִשְׁעִי וְלֹא־חַטָּאתִי יְהוָה׃

kî hinnê ʾārᵉbû lᵉnafšî yāgûrû ʿālay ʿazîm lōʾ-fišʿî wᵉlōʾ-ḥaṭṭâtî yahweh

for behold lie-in-ambush-they for-soul-my attack-they upon-me strong-ones not-revolt-my-(noun masc sing with pronominal suffix 1st sing) [Holladay: without guilt on my part] and-not-sin-my-(noun fem sing with pronominal suffix 1st sing) [and without sin on my part] lord

For behold, they lie in wait for my soul! Strong men conspire against me for no offence or sin of mine, O Lord.

According to Holladay the negative לֹא *lōʾ* should be translated as *without*. Does the negative לֹא *lōʾ* indeed introduce the circumstantial clause or is the contribution thereof simply the particular negation of nouns? This is another open-ended issue in need of further research.

(7) 2 Sam 23[4]

וּכְאוֹר בֹּקֶר יִזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ בֹּקֶר לֹא עֲבוֹת

ûkᵉʾôr bōqer yizraḥ-šāmeš bōqer lōʾ ʿābôt

and-like-light-of morning shines-he-sun morning not clouds-(noun fem & masc pl)

And like the light at morning shines the sun (on) a morning without clouds.

According to Holladay the negative לֹא *lōʾ* should be translated appositionally in a negative description as *without* or *-less*, and he translates it as *cloudless morning*.

From the above examples it is evident that there is no consensus regarding the translation of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding these common nouns. Addressing these translation difficulties falls outside the scope of this research and it is clear that these problematic cases require further research.

(c) The negation of proper names in verbal and verbless clauses

The data search has yielded 16 cases of proper names preceded by the negative לֹא *lōʾ* (cf Addendum N). Consider the following two examples as illustration of this phenomenon:

(8) Gen 32[29]

וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא יַעֲקֹב יֵאָמֵר עוֹד שִׁמְךָ כִּי אִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל[51]

wayyō'mer lō' ya'aqōb yē'āmēr 'ôd šimkā kî 'im-yiśrā'ēl

and-said-he not jacob-(proper name) will-be-called-you more name-your but-israel…

Then he said, "Not Jacob will your name be called any longer, but Israel…

In (8) לֹא *lō'* negates a proper name in a verbal clause. The salient question begging to be answered is whether the scope of the negative comprises only יַעֲקֹב *ya'aqōb* (Jacob), or whether it extends to include the subsequent phrase.

(9) Jud 4[14]

הֲלֹא יְהוָה יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ

h'lō' yahweh yāṣâ l'fāneykā

… QM-not lord goes-out-he before-you…

… Has not the LORD gone ahead of you?"

Example (9) is an occurrence of הֲלֹא *h'lō'* negating the proper name יְהוָה *yahweh* in a verbless clause. The question that arises is what the exact scope of הֲלֹא *h'lō'* in this example comprises. Does the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* extend to include more than just the proper name, or does it focus particularly on the proper name? The above discussion of the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding common nouns and proper names has indicated several problems regarding, firstly, the proper translation of the negative לֹא *lō'* in such cases and secondly, the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in these cases. It falls outside the scope of this research to devote time to these translation problems which therefore justify further research. In the discussion below an example of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding a common noun, and one preceding a proper name will be analysed to determine the scope of the negative in these cases. In both cases the gender and number of the noun will be taken into consideration.

51 Cf the reference of Koehler *et al* (1974: 486) to the negation of a single word in a sentence, utilising this verse as an example.

5.1.3 The scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding common nouns

In example (10) the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ precedes the common noun יָדוֹ *yādô*:

(10) 1 Sam 6[9]

וְיָדַעְנוּ כִּי לֹא יָדוֹ נָגְעָה בָּנוּ

wᵉyādaʿnû kî lōʾ yādô nāgᵉʿâ bānû

and-will-know-we that not hand-his (noun fem sing with pronominal suffix 3rd masc sing) touched-she in-us

... and we knew that not his hand touched us ...

The derivation of וְיָדַעְנוּ כִּי לֹא יָדוֹ נָגְעָה בָּנוּ *kî lōʾ yādô nāgᵉʿâ bānû* begins with the selection of the item לֹא *lōʾ* and the fully inflected forms, *viz* the common noun *yādô*, the verb *nāgᵉʿâ* and the PP *bānû* from the lexicon (the negative לֹא *lōʾ* takes the subject *yādô* as its complement). The item *lōʾ* and the fully inflected forms *yādô*, *nāgᵉʿâ* and *bānû* carry the following head-, specifier- and complement-features:

	lōʾ	*yādô*	*nāgᵉʿâ*	*bānû*
Head-features:		[3FS; Nom; Top; Neg]	[Past]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:			[3FS;Nom]	
Complement-features:	[Neg]		[Acc]	

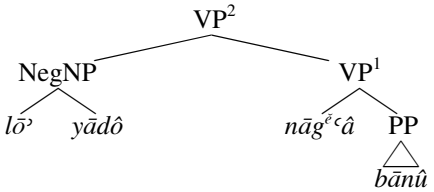
If the surface structure is considered, it is evident that fronting of the subject has occurred,[52] therefore *yādô* carries a [Top] head-feature. Van der Merwe (1999a: 294) states that one of the functions of fronting in BH, that is moving a non-verbal constituent to the initial position in the sentence, is to establish an entity as the topic of the utterance. Van der Merwe (1999b: 173) states that fronting is also referred to as topicalisation. He states that fronting is regarded by many as a more marked construction than one in which the verbal constituent occupies the initial position of the sentence.[53] For the purposes of this research the term *topicalisation* will

52 Cf Van der Merwe's (1991) discussion on BH as a verb-subject-object (VSO) language. In this article he also refers to the function of so-called emphasising constructions in Old Hebrew (BH). Also cf Jongeling's (1991) discussion on the VSO character of Hebrew.

53 Van der Merwe (1999b) states that, according to most traditional grammars, the function of fronting is to emphasise the fronted constituent. However, he refers to many

be used to refer to examples where a non-verbal constituent has been moved to the initial position of the sentence. As it falls outside the scope of this research to explain fronting and to determine the *semantics* of fronting, this research will merely refer to topicalisation in as far as it contributes to a better understanding of the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. The following step in this derivation is the merging of the PP *bānû* with the verb *nāgᵉʿâ* to form VP^1. Then the subject *yādô* is merged with the negative *lōʾ* to form a NegNP. The following step is the merging of VP^1 with NegNP (*lōʾ yādô*) to form VP^2. These operations are illustrated in (11):

(11)

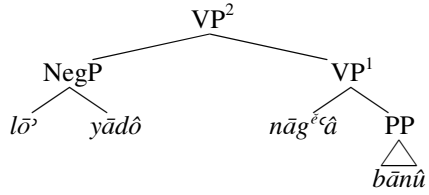


Head-features:		[3FSNom; Top; Neg]	[Past]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:			[3FSNom]	
Complement-features:	[Neg]		[Acc]	

Checking of the above derivation implies that the [3FS] specifier-features of *nāgᵉʿâ* are checked against the head-features of *yādô*, and are deleted as specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [Nom] specifier-feature of *nāgᵉʿâ* is likewise checked against the [Nom] head-feature of *yādô*, and both are deleted as case-features are also uninterpretable on LF. The [Neg] head-feature of *yādô* is checked against the [Neg] complement-feature of *lōʾ*, with deletion of the [Neg] complement-feature of *lōʾ*, as complement-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [Acc] complement-feature of *nāgᵉʿâ* is checked against the [Acc] head-feature of *bānû* and in this case, too, both features are deleted. The various operations are illustrated in (12):

cases of fronting that cannot be explained as emphasising the fronted constituent. In his article he refers to a number of reasons, other than "emphasis", for the fronting of a constituent.

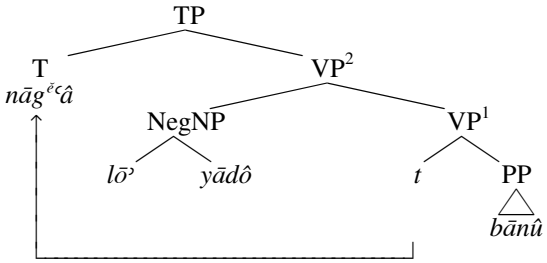
(12)



Head-features:		[3FS~~Nom~~; Top; Neg]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:			[~~3FSNom~~]	
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]		[~~Acc~~]	

To check the [Past] head-feature of the verb *nāgᵉʿâ*, VP^2 is next merged with the head T that carries a tense-feature, resulting in the phrasal category TP. The verb *nāgᵉʿâ* is then moved to T where the checking of the [Past] head-feature takes place, as in (13):

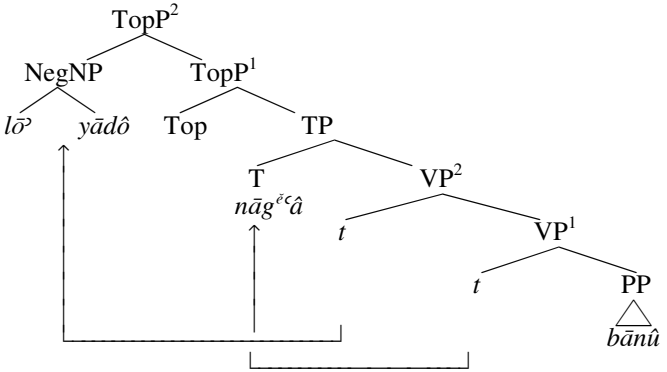
(13)



Head-features:		[3FS~~Nom~~; Top; ~~Neg~~]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:			[~~3FSNom~~]	
Complement-features:	[Neg]		[~~Acc~~]	

The final feature that needs to be checked is the [Top] head-feature of NegNP (*lō’ yādô*). This is effected by merging TP with the head Top, carrying a top-feature, resulting in the phrasal category TopP. The subject NegNP (*lō’ yādô)* is then moved to the specifier-position of TopP, resulting in $TopP^2$, where the checking takes place in a specifier-head configuration as in (14):

(14)



The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in (14) is the set of nodes that the negative c-commands. Here, the negative c-commands only *yādô* as the first branching node dominating *lō'* also dominates *yādô* and the latter two categories do not dominate each other. Hence, the negative has scope only over *yādô*. This type of negation is therefore referred to as constituent-negation. As is clear from the following text versions of (10) 1 Sam 6[9], each takes the scope of the negative differently. The RSV, JB, NIV, JPS and NA translate the negative immediately preceding the subject *yādô*. The NA translates this verse freely and translates the subject not as *his hand*, but as *He*. However, the NA's consideration of the scope of the negative remains the same. Consider the JPS as example:

JPS: *… we shall know that it was not His hand that struck us, …*

The OA and GNB take the scope to be over the verb *nāgᵉʿâ*, with the subject *yādô* falling outside the scope of the negative. The GNB translates this verse extremely freely, namely with *that he did not send the plague*. Consider the translation of the OA:

OA: *… dan weet ons dat sy hand ons nie getref het nie…[…then we know that his hand has not struck us …]*

A first objection that could be raised against the above translations concerns the fact that all the translations, except the OA, consider sentence (10) to be a nominal clause, whilst it is actually a verbal clause containing the verb נָגְעָה *nāgᵉʿâ*. Secondly, none of the translations take the topicalisation of the subject *yādô* into consideration. Even though it might be argued that the negative is translated as preceding the subject *yādô*, the text versions do not render the effect of topicalisation in this verse. The OA, for example, takes *sy hand* (his hand) to fall entirely outside the scope of the negative. A more plausible translation is the following, based on the above discussion regarding the scope of the negative and the topicalisation:

(15) *... then we will know that not his hand touched us, ...*

5.1.4 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding proper names

This section will illustrate Neh 6[12] in (16) as an example of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding a proper name to determine the exact scope of the negative:

(16) Neh 6[12]

וְאַכִּירָה וְהִנֵּה לֹא־אֱלֹהִים שְׁלָחוֹ כִּי הַנְּבוּאָה דִּבֶּר עָלַי

wāʾakkîrâ wᵉhinnê lōʾ-ʾᵉlōhîm šᵉlāḥô kî hannᵉbûʾâ dibber ʿālay

And-let-investigate-I and-behold not-god-(proper name) sent-he-him but the-prophecy spoke-he against-me

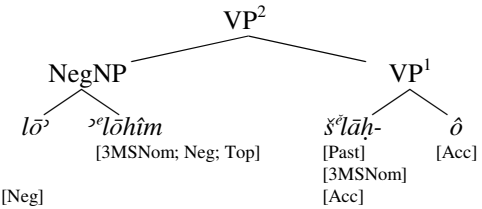
And I investigated and behold, not God had sent him, but he had prophesied against me…

The discourse marker וְהִנֵּה *wᵉhinnê* (and behold) in (16) will be left aside. The derivation of לֹא־אֱלֹהִים שְׁלָחוֹ *lōʾ-ʾᵉlōhîm šᵉlāḥô* begins with the selection of the item לֹא *lōʾ* and the fully inflected forms, אֱלֹהִים *ʾᵉlōhîm* and שְׁלָחוֹ *šᵉlāḥô* from the lexicon. The form שְׁלָחוֹ *šᵉlāḥô* is comprised of the verb with the direct object וֹ *ô* (him), *i e* the pronominal suffix third masculine singular attached to the verb. The negative לֹא *lōʾ* takes the proper name אֱלֹהִים *ʾᵉlōhîm* as complement. The negative לֹא *lōʾ*, the proper name אֱלֹהִים *ʾᵉlōhîm* and verb שְׁלָח *šᵉlāḥ-* with object וֹ *ô* carry the following head-, specifier- and complement-features:

	lō'	*'elōhîm*	*šᵉlāḥ-*	*ô*
Head-features:		[3MSNom; Neg; Top]	[Past]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:			[3MSNom]	
Complement-features:	[Neg]		[Acc]	

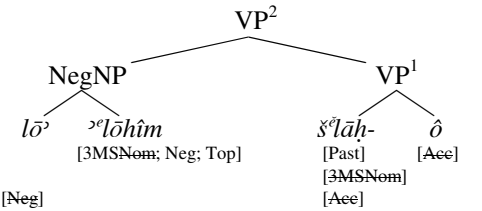
The following step in this derivation is the merging of the object *ô* with the verb *šᵉlāḥ-* to form VP^1. The proper name *'elōhîm* is then merged with the negative *lō'* to form NegNP. VP^1 is then merged with NegNP to form VP^2. These steps are illustrated in (17):

(17)



As indicated, the proper name *'elōhîm* carries a [Neg] head-feature as the negative *lō'* takes *'elōhîm* as complement. This [Neg] head-feature of *'elōhîm* is checked against the [Neg] complement-feature of the negative *lō'*. The [3MS] specifier-features of the verb *šᵉlāḥ-* are checked against the [3MS] head-features of the subject, resulting in the deletion of the specifier-features on the verb, as specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF. Case-features are also uninterpretable at LF. Hence, checking of the [Nom] specifier-feature of the verb *šᵉlāḥ-* against the [Nom] head-feature of the proper name *'elōhîm* will result in the deletion of both features. Likewise, the [Acc] complement-feature of the verb is checked against the [Acc] head-feature of the object *ô*, with deletion of both features. These operations are presented in (18):

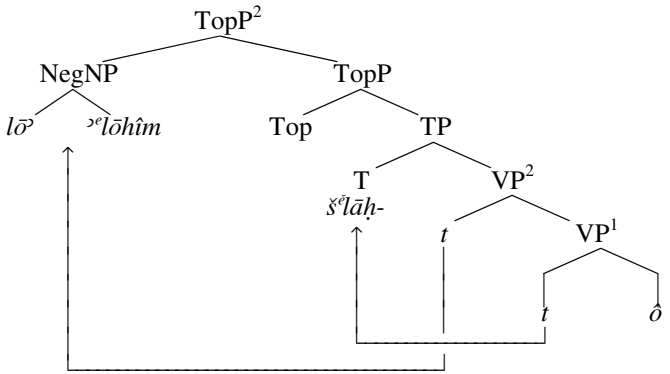
(18)



Two further features remain to be checked, *viz* the [Top] head-feature of the subject *ʾelōhîm* (the subject fills the topic position) and the [Past] head-feature of the verb *šlāḥ-*. To check the [Past] head-feature, VP^2 is merged with the functional head T, carrying a tense-feature, resulting in TP. The verb is moved to T to check the [Past] head-feature against T. The [Top] head-feature of the subject *ʾelōhîm* still needs to be checked. To effect the checking of this head-feature TP is merged with the head Top to form TopP, and NegNP (*lōʾ* and *ʾelōhîm*) is then moved to the specifier-position of TopP, indicated as $TopP^2$, to check off this [Top] head-feature of *ʾelōhîm*.

The derived structure may be represented as follows:

(19)



Head-features:	[3MS~~Nom~~ Neg; Top]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MSNom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	

The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* ranges over the set of nodes that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* c-commands. In (19) the negative לֹא *lōʾ* and *ʾelōhîm* do not dominate each other and the first branching node dominating both לֹא *lōʾ* and *ʾelōhîm* is NegNP. Hence, the scope of לֹא *lōʾ* will only be over *ʾelōhîm.* Thus, it is argued that this is an example of constituent-negation as the negative only has scope over a particular constituent and not over the whole subsequent clause.

Consider now the different text versions of Neh 6[12]. The RSV, JB, NIV and GNB all consider the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* to include the verb and object שְׁלָחוֹ *šᵉlāḥô sent him*. Consider the NIV as example:

NIV: *I realised that God had not sent him, that he had prophesied against me …*

The OA and NA take the scope of the negative to include the verb, with the subject *God* falling outside the scope. Consider the translation of the NA:

NA: *Ek het toe geweet dat God hom nie gestuur het nie, maar dat hy dié voorspelling teen my gemaak het … [I then knew that God had not sent him, but that he made this prophecy against me …]*

The JPS takes the scope of the negative to be on the subject *God*. Consider the translation of the JPS:

JPS: *Then I realised that it was not God who sent him, but that he uttered that prophecy about me.*

Even though the negative לֹא *lōʾ* immediately precedes the subject אֱלֹהִים *ʾᵉlōhîm*, the above text versions, with the exception of the JPS, take the subject to fall outside the scope of the negative. This is in direct contrast to the analysis set out above. On the basis of this analysis the following may be proposed:

(20) *And I investigated and behold, not God sent him, but he spoke the prophecy against me…*

5.2 The negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding independent pronouns

Pronouns are a closed class of words (lexemes) that can be used in the place of a noun or noun phrase within certain contexts. The person or object to which a pronoun refers can only be determined in the context, inside or outside the sentence, in which the pronoun occurs.

5.2.1 Grammatical aspects of independent personal pronouns

A personal pronoun usually refers to a person or thing that has already been mentioned. This person or thing is called the *antecedent* of the pronoun. In BH a distinction is made between independent personal pronouns and enclitic pronouns. The latter are not separate words, but are to be found in the form of pronominal suffixes affixed to verbs, nouns and other word types (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 251). The following independent personal pronouns occur in BH, as in (21).

(21)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 masculine/ feminine	אָנֹכִי / אָנִ֫י[54]	I	אֲנַחְנוּ	We
2 masculine	אַתָּה	you	אַתֶּם	you
2 feminine	אַתְּ	you	אַתֶּן	you
3 masculine	הוּא	he	הֵם / הֵמָּה	they
3 feminine	הִ֫א / הִוא	she	הֵנָּה	they

5.2.2 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding independent personal pronouns

The data search yielded 71 cases of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the independent personal pronouns above (cf Addendum O). Gen 45[8] in (22) will serve as an illustration of this distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding independent personal pronouns.:

54 Cf Revell (1995: 216) on the two forms of the 1st person singular pronoun. He states that the two forms were evidently brought into general use in Hebrew, where *ʾānî* functioned as a marked form. *ʾānōkî* marked the speaker's position in a moral order or rights and duties of speaking and of acting through speaking. The use of *ʾānî* shows that the speaker has a right to expect attention from the addressee, either due to status difference, or due to the importance of the speech for the speaker. Rendsburg (1982: 57) states that Hebrew, like Arabic, Ugarit, and Egyptian (and Akkadian) made wide use of dual pronouns and dual verbs, and that Hebrew continued to use dual pronouns and verbs, at least vestigially, well into late antiquity.

(22) Gen 45[8]

וְעַתָּה לֹא־אַתֶּם שְׁלַחְתֶּם אֹתִי הֵנָּה כִּי הָאֱלֹהִים

wᵉʿattâ lōʾ-ʾattem šᵉlaḥtem ʾōtî hēnnâ kî hāʾᵉlōhîm

and-now not-you-(pronoun 2nd person masc pl) sent-you (acc)-me here but the god

And now, not you sent me here, but God.

In (22) the negative לֹא *lōʾ* apparently negates the pronoun second person masculine plural, … not *you* … The exact scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding independent pronouns will be determined in the following section.

5.2.3 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding independent personal pronouns

The example in (23) will be used to determine the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding independent personal pronouns:

(23) Jdg 11[7]

וַיֹּאמֶר יִפְתָּח לִזְקְנֵי גִלְעָד הֲלֹא אַתֶּם שְׂנֵאתֶם אֹתִי

wayyōʾmer yiftāḥ lᵉziqnê gilʿād hᵃlōʾ ʾattem śᵉnēʾtem ʾôtî

and-said-he jephthah to-elders-of gilead QM-not you hated-you (acc)-me

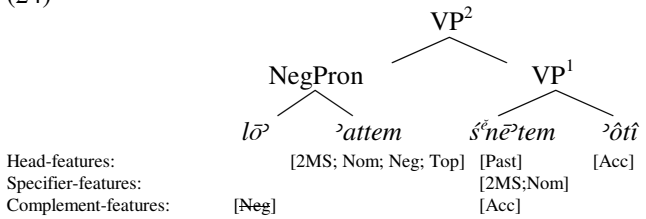
And Jephthah said to the elders of Gilead, "Did not you hate me?"

The derivation of (23) begins with the selection of the item לֹא *lōʾ* and the three fully inflected forms: the independent personal pronoun אַתֶּם *ʾattem*, the verb שְׂנֵאתֶם *śᵉnēʾtem* and אֹתִי *ʾôtî* (the accusative marker אֵת *ʾet* with the pronominal suffix first person singular). The negative לֹא *lōʾ* takes the independent personal pronoun אַתֶּם *ʾattem* as its complement. These selected forms carry the following head-, specifier- and complement-features:

	lōʾ	*ʾattem*	*śᵉnēʾtem*	*ʾôtî*
Head-features:		[2MS; Nom; Top; Neg]	[Past]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:			[2MS;Nom]	
Complement-features:	[Neg]		[Acc]	

The object *ʾôtî* is merged with the verb *śᵉnēʾtem* to form VP^1. The subject (independent personal pronoun in this case) *ʾattem* is merged with the negative לֹא *lōʾ* to form a NegPron (a pronoun carrying a [Neg] head-feature). VP^1 is then merged with NegPron to form VP^2. Thus far, the derivation will be as in (24):

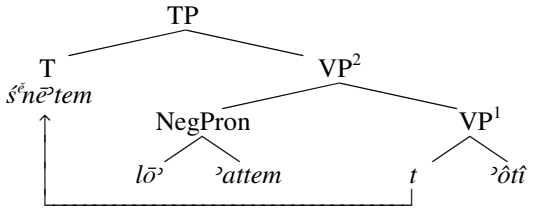
(24)



Checking of the different features implies that the [2MS;Nom] specifier-features of the verb *śᵉnēʾtem* are checked against the [2MS;Nom] head-features of *ʾattem*. A match is found between the different features with deletion of the [Nom] features in both categories as case-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [2MS] specifier-features of the verb *śᵉnēʾtem* are also deleted as specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [Acc] complement-feature of the verb *śᵉnētem* is checked against the [Acc] head-feature of *ʾôtî* with deletion of both, as case-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [Neg] complement-feature of *lōʾ* is checked against the [Neg] head-feature of *ʾattem* with deletion of the complement-feature of *lōʾ*, as these features are uninterpretable at LF.

The two remaining features to be checked are the [Past] head-feature of the verb *śᵉnēʾtem* and the [Top] head-feature of the subject *ʾattem* (filling the topic position). The checking of the [Past] head-feature of the verb *śᵉnētem* is effected by merging VP^2 with the head T to form TP and the movement of the verb *śᵉnētem* to T, where the checking of the [Past] head-feature takes place. These operations are illustrated in (25):

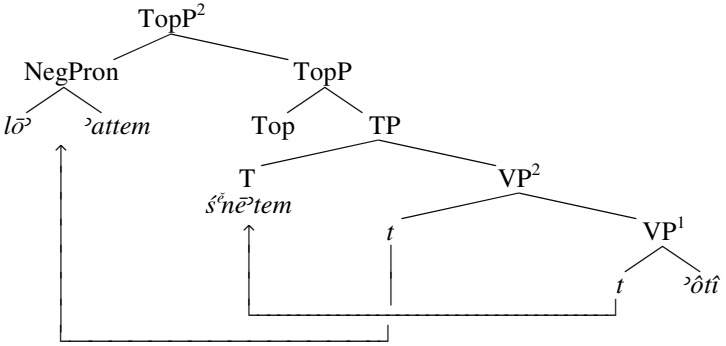
(25)



Head-features:	[2MS; ~~Nom~~; Neg; Top]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~2MS;Nom~~]	
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]	[~~Acc~~]	

Having checked the [Past] head-feature of the verb *śᵉnēʾtem*, the only feature that remains to be checked is the [Top] head-feature of the subject *ʾattem*. To effect this checking TP is merged with the head Top to form TopP, and NegPron (*lōʾ ʾattem*) is moved to the specifier position of TopP, indicated as TopP^2, where this [Top] feature is checked in a specifier-head configuration as illustrated in (26):

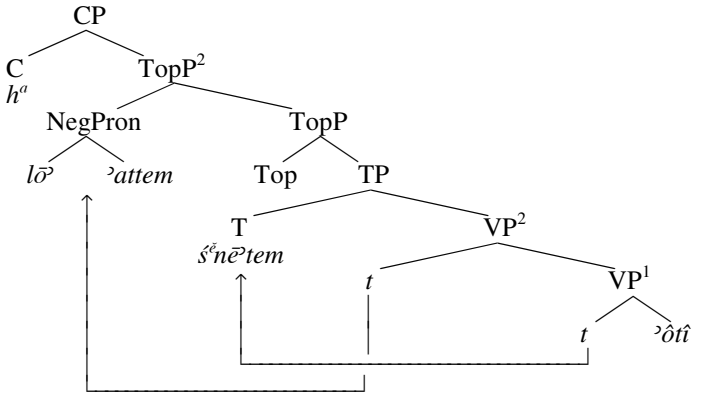
(26)



Head-features:	[2MS~~Nom~~; Top; Neg]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~2MSNom~~]	
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]		

In the surface structure the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ is preceded by the QM הֲ *hᵃ*. The final step in this derivation is the merging of TopP^2 with the head C, filled by the QM, to form CP as in (27):

(27)



Head-features:	[2MS~~Nom~~; Top;Neg]	[~~Past~~]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~2MSNom~~]	
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]		

The scope of the negative *lōʾ* in (27) is the set of nodes that it c-commands. The first branching node that dominates the negative *lōʾ* and the subject *ʾattem* is NegPron. This implies that the negative *lōʾ* c-commands only *ʾattem*, thus having scope only over the subject *ʾattem*. While on the topic of scope, it should be noted that the QM הַ *hª*, in contrast to the negative *lōʾ*, has scope over the whole subsequent phrase. In (27) it is evident that the negative *lōʾ* only has scope over the independent personal pronoun, whereas the QM הַ *hª* has scope over the whole subsequent clause as it c-commands the entire clause. Considering the different text versions, the JB and NIV translate the negative immediately preceding the pronoun. However, it is not at all certain whether the scope of the negative comprises only the pronoun or the whole subsequent phrase. Consider the NIV as example:

NIV: *Jephthah said to them, "Didn't you hate me…"*

The RSV and OA take the scope of the negative to be over the verb *hate* and the pronoun falls outside the scope of the negative. Consider the translation of the RSV:

RSV: *But Jephthah said to the elders of Gilead, "Did you not hate me, …"*

The JPS, NA and GNB, in contrast, take neither the negative nor the question marker הֲ *h*ª into consideration. Consider the GNB's translation:

GNB: *But Jephthah answered, "You hated me so much that you forced me to leave my father's house".*

On the basis of the above analysis of the scope of the negative, it is evident that the different text versions do not express the scope of the negative adequately, and the following translation is proposed:

(28) *Is it not you (that) hated me…*

5.3 The negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the relative particle

The relative particle אֲשֶׁר ʾª*šer* in BH functions among other things as a relative pronoun[55] in relative constructions.[56] Van Wyk (1992: 46) states that the most general relative construction is the relative construction introduced by אֲשֶׁר ʾª*šer*. In his discussion on relative clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר ʾª*šer*, Van Wyk distinguishes between dependent and independent relative clauses. Dependent relative clauses are dependent upon a nominal antecedent, whilst the latter does not have an antecedent in the main clause. For the purposes of this section the focus is not on dependent relative clauses[57] with an explicit antecedent present, but on the independent relative clauses where an explicit antecedent is absent – the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ immediately preceding the relative particle. According to Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 334) a so-called "independent relative" clause may serve in a verbal clause, among other things, as subjects.[58] In the example above

55 Cf Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 259-60) for a reference to other relative pronouns. Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 296-7) also discuss other functions of the particle אֲשֶׁר ʾª*šer*.

56 For a historical overview of the relative construction cf Van Wyk (1992: Chapter 2).

57 Cf Van Wyk (1992: 46-75) for a discussion on the dependent relative clause.

58 For example Gen 7[23]

וַ שְׁאֵר אַךְ־נֹחַ וַאֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ בַּתֵּבָה׃

the focus of the sentence is on *that* which mankind looks at as opposed to *that* which God looks at. If Waltke & O'Connor's (1990) proposal is accepted, then the relative particle אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer* should be considered as the subject in the verbal clause.

An alternative to Waltke & O'Connor's (1990) proposal is offered by Van Wyk (1992) and Holmstedt (2001). Even though a nominal antecedent is absent, Van Wyk (1992: 80) states that the connection between the main clause and the independent relative clause is only intelligible if an unexpressed or tacit antecedent is assumed. Holmstedt (2001:4) illustrates the superficial difference between the two types (headed=dependent and headless=independent) of relative clauses with the following two examples (29) and (30).

(29) 2 Sam 11[27]

וַיֵּרַע [הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה דָוִד] בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה
wayyēraʿ haddābār ʾᵃšer-ʿāśâ dāwid bᵉʿênê yahweh
and-be-wrong-it the-thing which-done-he david in-eyes-of yahweh
'And <u>the thing which David did</u> was wicked in the eyes of Yhwh'[59]

(30) Gen 38[10]

וַיֵּרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה [אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה e]
wayyēraʿ bᵉʿênê Yahweh ʾᵃšer ʿāśâ
and-be-wrong-it in-eyes-of yahweh which done-he
'And <u>(e) what he did</u> was wicked in the eyes of Yhwh'[60]

According to Holmstedt (2001: 4) the relative in (29) has a head, הַדָּבָר *haddābār*, whereas the similar relative in (30) does not. He indicated the covert head with the notation *e*, to indicate a syntactically present but phonologically empty head.

Only Noah and *those* with him in the ark were left (Waltke & O'Connor's translation and italics).

59 Holmstedt's translation.

60 Holmstedt's translation.

5.3.1 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the relative particle

The data search has yielded 2 cases of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the relative particle אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer*. 1 Sam 16[7] will serve as an illustration of this phenomenon:

(31) 1 Sam 16[7]

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל אַל־תַּבֵּט אֶל־מַרְאֵהוּ וְאֶל־גְּבַהּ קוֹמָתוֹ כִּי מְאַסְתִּיהוּ כִּי לֹא אֲשֶׁר יִרְאֶה הָאָדָם כִּי הָאָדָם יִרְאֶה לַעֵינַיִם וַיהוָה יִרְאֶה לַלֵּבָב׃

wayyōʾmer yahweh ʾel-šᵉmûʾēl ʾal-tabbēṭ ʾel-marʾēhû wᵉʾel-gᵉbōah qômātô kî mᵉʾastîhû kî lōʾ ʾᵃšer yirʾeh hāʾādām kî hāʾādām yirʾeh laʿênayim wayahweh yirʾeh lallēbāb

and-said-he yahweh to-samuel not-must-look-you to-appearance-his and-to-height-of standing-his for rejected-I-him for not what sees-he the-man for the-man looks-he for-the-outward-appearances but-yahweh sees-he to-the-heart.

But the Lord said to Samuel, "Do not look at his appearance and to his height, for I have rejected him. For not what man looks at, (looks the Lord at), for man looks at the outward appearance, but the Lord looks at the heart."

This example (31) again illustrates the problematic nature surrounding the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. This example seems to be a case of a headless (lacking an overt antecedent) relative clause, for no explicit antecedent precedes the relative particle. The negative לֹא *lōʾ* immediately precedes the relative particle; therefore the exact scope of the negative has to be determined. If one considers the possibility that ellipsis[61] might have occurred, the translation might read something like the following:

(32) *And the Lord said to Samuel: "Do not consider his appearance and his height, for I have rejected him, for not [the outward appearance and the height] which man sees (sees the Lord), for man sees the outward appearance, but the Lord sees the heart."*

61 Radford (1997: 110) defines ellipsis as "a term used to designate the process by which redundant information in a sentence is ellipsed (omitted) if it can be inferred from the context (if it has been previously mentioned in the preceding discourse).

The following section will discuss the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the relative particle.

5.3.2 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the relative particle

In the above discussion on the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the relative particle אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer*, 1 Sam 16[7] was illustrated. The following discussion will consider the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in 1 Sam 16[7]:

(33) 1 Sam 16[7]

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל אַל־תַּבֵּט אֶל־מַרְאֵהוּ וְאֶל־גְּבֹהַ קוֹמָתוֹ כִּי מְאַסְתִּיהוּ כִּי
לֹא [a] אֲשֶׁר יִרְאֶה הָאָדָם כִּי הָאָדָם יִרְאֶה לָעֵינַיִם וַיהוָה יִרְאֶה לַלֵּבָב:

wayyōʾmer yahweh ʾel-šᵉmûʾēl ʾal-tabbēṭ ʾel-marʾēhû wᵉʾel-gᵉbōah qômātô kî mᵉʾastîhû kî lōʾ ʾᵃšer yirʾeh hāʾādām kî hāʾādām yirʾeh laʿênayim wayahweh yirʾeh lallēbāb

and-said-he yahweh to-samuel not-must-look-you to-appearance-his and-to-height-of-standing-his for rejected-I-him for not [a] what sees-he the-man for the-man looks-he for-the-outward-appearances but-yahweh sees-he to-the-heart.

But the Lord said to Samuel, "Do not look at his appearance and to his height, for I have rejected him. For not what man looks at, (looks the Lord at), for man looks at the outward appearance, but the Lord looks at the heart."

In this example, the negative לֹא *lōʾ* immediately precedes the relative particle אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer*. It is proposed that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* takes a covert head as complement, indicated with the notation a in the above example. This notation a[62] thus indicates a syntactically present, but phonologically empty antecedent. The derivation of כִּי לֹא אֲשֶׁר יִרְאֶה הָאָדָם *kî lōʾ ʾᵃšer yirʾeh hāʾādām* (the whole verse was repeated to indicate the context of the relative clause) in (33) begins with the selection of the items לֹא *lōʾ*, the covert head

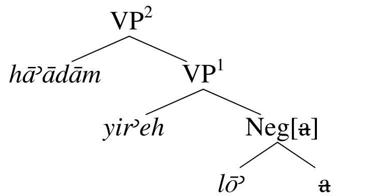
62 Holmstedt (2001) indicates this syntactically present, but phonologically empty head with *e*.

[~~a~~] and the fully inflected forms, the noun הָאָדָם *hāʾādām* and the verb יִרְאֶה *yirʾeh* with the following head-, specifier- and complement-features:

	hāʾādām	*yirʾeh*	*lōʾ*	~~a~~
Head-features:	[3MS; Nom]	[Future]		[Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		[3MS; Nom]		
Complement-features:			[Neg]	

The negative לֹא *lōʾ* and [~~a~~] are merged to form a Neg[~~a~~]. This Neg[~~a~~] is then merged with the verb *yirʾeh* to form VP[1]. VP[1] is then merged with the subject הָאָדָם *hāʾādām* to form VP[2]. These operations are illustrated in (34):

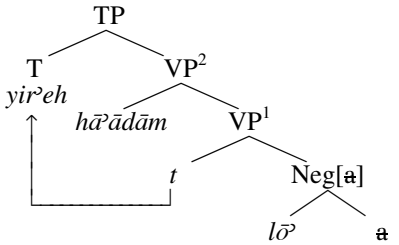
(34)



Head-features:	[3MS; Nom]	[Future]		[Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		[3MS; Nom]		
Complement-features:			[Neg]	

Checking of the above features implies that the [3MS] specifier-features of *yirʾeh* are checked against the [3MS] head-features of *hāʾādām*, resulting in the deletion of the specifier-features of *yirʾeh*, as specifier-features are unintepretable at LF. The [Nom] specifier-feature of *yirʾeh* is checked against the [Nom] head-feature of *hāʾādām*; both features are deleted since case-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [Neg] complement-feature of *lōʾ* is checked against the [Neg] head-feature of [~~a~~] with deletion of the [Neg] complement-feature of *lōʾ,* as complement-features are uninterpretable at LF. In order to check the [Future] head-feature of *yirʾeh*, VP[2] is merged with the head T to form TP, and the verb *yirʾeh* is moved to T where the checking takes place, as illustrated in (35):

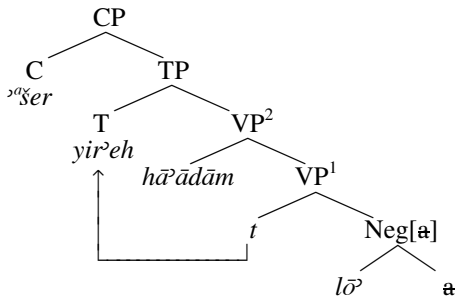
(35)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:			[~~Neg~~]

In the surface structure the relative particle אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer* precedes the verb *yirʾeh*. Hence, TP is merged with the head C, filled by אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer*,[63] to form CP as in (36):

(36)

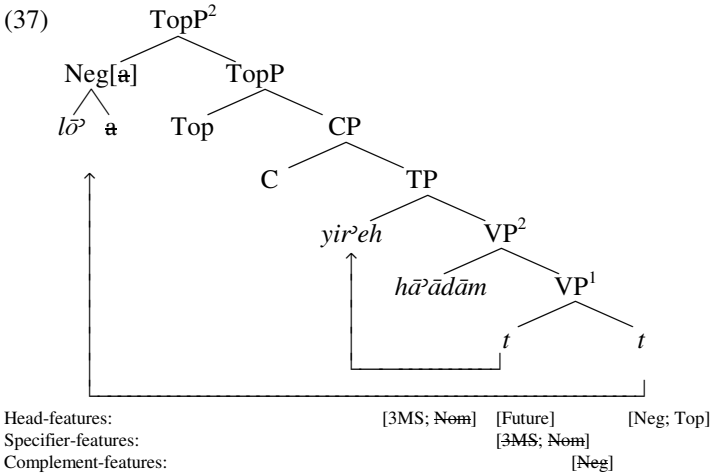


Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:			[~~Neg~~]

The only remaining feature that needs to be checked is the [Top] head-feature of ~~a~~. To bring about this checking CP is merged with the head Top to form TopP and Neg[~~a~~] (*lōʾ* and ~~a~~) is moved to the specifier position of TopP where the checking takes place in a specifier-head configuration, as illustrated in (37):

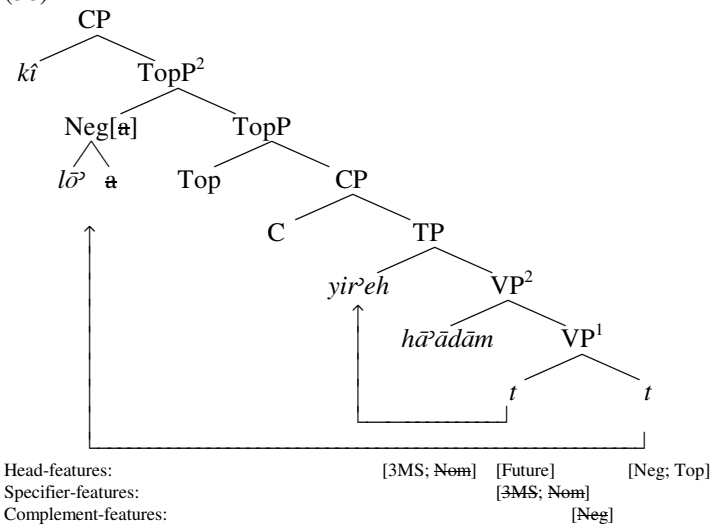
63 Cf Naudé (1996b) for a discussion of the relative *dy* in Biblical Aramaic as complementiser.

(37)



In the surface structure the particle כִּי *kî* fills the initial position of the sentence. To account for this, it is assumed that TopP is merged with C, filled by כִּי *kî*, resulting in the phrasal category CP. The final structure of the derivation will be as in (38):

(38)



The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in (38) is the set of nodes that it c-commands. The first branching node that dominates *lō' i e* Neg[~~a~~] also dominates ~~a~~, implying that *lō'* c-commands ~~a~~, thus having scope over ~~a~~. When considering the different text versions' rendering of the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in (33) 1 Sam 16[7], it should be noted that most of the translations add the clause *sees God* to provide a more interpretable text. As this insertion does not play a role in the scope of the negative, the translations will only be assessed in terms of the scope of the negative. The NIV and NA are the only two text versions considering the presence of the syntactically present but phonologically empty category [~~a~~], translating it as *the things* (the NIV) and *dieselfde dinge* [the same things] (the NA). The NA takes the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* to range over this phonologically empty category. However, while the NIV translates the empty phonological category, it takes the scope of the negative to be on the inserted verb *see/look.* Consider both the NA and NIV translations:

NA: *Maar Hy sê vir Samuel: "Moenie na sy voorkoms of sy buitengewone lengte kyk nie, want Ek het hom nie gekies nie. Die Here kyk nie na dieselfde dinge as die mens nie. Die mens kyk na die uiterlike, maar die Here kyk na die innerlike." [But He says to Samuel: "Do not look at his appearance or his extraordinary height, for I did not choose him. The Lord does not look at the same things as man does. Man looks at the outside, but the Lord looks at the inside."]*

NIV: *But the LORD said to Samuel, "Do not consider his appearance or his height, for I have rejected him. The LORD does not look at the things man looks at. Man looks at the outward appearance, but the LORD looks at the heart."*

The RSV, OA and JPS take the scope of the negative to range over the relative particle. Consider the OA as example:

OA: *Maar die Here sê vir Samuel: Kyk nie na sy voorkomste en sy hoë gestalte nie, want Ek ag hom te gering. Want nie wat die mens sien, sien God nie; want die mens sien aan wat voor oë is, maar die Here sien die hart aan. [But the Lord said to Samuel: Do not look at his appearance and to his tall stature, for I judge*

him too insignificant. For not what mankind sees, sees God; for mankind sees what is before the eyes, but the Lord looks at the heart].

The JB and GNB take the scope of the negative to be over the inserted verb *see*. Consider the JB as example:

JB: *… but Yahweh said to Samuel, "Take no notice of his appearance or his height, for I have rejected him; God does not see as human beings see; they look at appearances but Yahweh looks at the heart."*

It should be noted that no conclusion can be reached at this stage. The mere fact that only two examples are encountered of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the relative particle אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer*, render the conclusion reached on this phenomenon preliminary. These two cases are in need of a great deal of research, with a comparison of relative clauses in the positive lacking an overt head. Only when sufficient answers are provided on the whole phenomenon of headless relative clauses, can these two cases be reconsidered in order to properly determine the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. However, at this juncture it is proposed that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in the above derivation has scope over the covert head [ø]. In understanding this verse, it is proposed that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the characteristics that mankind considers, as opposed to the characteristics that God considers. Hence, the following translation is proposed:

(39) *But the Lord said to Samuel, "Do not look at his appearance and to his height, for I have rejected him. For not [the things] that man looks at, (the Lord looks at), for man looks at the outward appearance, but the Lord looks at the heart."*

5.4 The negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the accusative marker

The accusative marker has the form אֵת *ʾēt* when it is written separately from the subsequent word and אֶת־ *ʾet* if it is affixed to the noun with a *maqqēf*. Pronominal suffixes may be added to the marker (Van der Merwe

et al 1999: 245). Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 177) note that the particle אֵת *ʾēt* is one of the most difficult grammatical morphemes to describe in BH. One set of difficulties is morphological: the particle אֵת *ʾēt*/אֶת־ *ʾet* is homonymous with אֵת *ʾēt*/אֶת־ *ʾet*, the preposition *with*, except when used with pronominal suffixes. With these the particle base is *ʾōt-*/*ʾet-* with the accusative marker, while the prepositional base is *ʾitt-*.[64] As a result of this similarity, the two words are sometimes confused (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 177).

The other set of difficulties is syntactic in nature. There are two approaches to descriptions of the particle's function: (i) Traditionally, it is called the *nota accusativi* or *sign of the accusative*, which essentially explains the occurrences that do not fit this rubric; (ii) More recent grammarians regard it as a marker of emphasis[65] used most often with definite nouns in the accusative role (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 177). Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 179) proceed by stating that with the accusative, the emphatic particle is used most often to mark the *definite direct object* of a transitive verb. Kroeze (2001: 35) records, in his article on the *nominative* case of nouns, that even the direct object marker אֵת *ʾēt* is not a case ending, but a particle. The same particle is sometimes used to mark the subject of a passive action clause, the subject of a process or a state, or the copula-complement in a verbless clause. These cases Kroeze calls the "nominative functions of אֵת *ʾēt*".[66] Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 182) also refer to examples where the particle אֵת *ʾēt*/אֶת־ *ʾet* is prefixed to nouns in the nominative function in both verbal and verbless clauses, usually in cases involving enumerations or appositions.[67]

The objective here is not to give a detailed description of the grammatical and semantic properties of the particle אֵת *ʾēt*/אֶת־ *ʾet*, but rather to determine the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the particle אֵת *ʾēt*/אֶת־ *ʾet*. Whether the particle אֵת *ʾēt*/אֶת־ *ʾet* precedes nouns in the nominative

64 For a discussion of this point see Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 177).

65 Cf Rosenstock (1991) for a discussion against the use of *ʾet* as marker of emphasis.

66 Cf Rendsburg (1980: 66) for a discussion on the use of the particle *ʾet* before nominative nouns in Late Biblical Hebrew. Also Saydon (1964) on the meanings and uses of the particle *ʾet*. Cf also Hoftijzer (1965) for an elaborate discussion on the particle *ʾet* in Classical Hebrew. Also to be considered is Muraoka (1985: 146-58).

67 Cf Cowley (1910: 365); König (1897, § 270].

function or nouns in the accusative function will make no difference to the discussion regarding the scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ. Discussions (5.1.2) and (5.1.3) on the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding nouns exhibited constituent-negation, whether the noun is in the accusative or the nominative.

5.4.1 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the accusative marker

The data search yielded 13 cases of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the particle אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et* (cf Addendum P). All 13 represent instances of the particle אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et* preceding the direct object. As this is the case, for the purposes of this research the particle אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et* will be referred to as the accusative marker, despite the fact that cases are encountered of the particle אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et* preceding nouns in the nominative.

5.4.2 The scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the accusative marker אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et*

The question might arise as to why this discussion of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the accusative marker אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et* is given in a separate section, and not as part of the discussion on the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding nouns. In order to clarify this, three examples will be illustrated: first, where the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ precedes the accusative marker אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et* with the accusative marker preceding the direct object (a noun in this case); second, where the accusative marker precedes a direct object which in turn precedes the relative particle; and third, where the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ precedes the accusative marker אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et* with no apparent object present, as the accusative marker immediately precedes the relative particle. The latter two instances provide examples of exceptional usages of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ. The first example (40) Amos 9[7] illustrates the accusative marker אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et* indicating the direct object of the clause. This example, being a case of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the accusative marker אֵת ʾ*ēt*/אֶת־ʾ*et*, the latter preceding a noun in the accusative, has the same derivation as nouns discussed in (5.1.2) and (5.1.3). This is only illustrated as a comparison with the other two examples and will not be derived in a tree-diagram:

(40) Amos 9[7]

הֲלוֹא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל הֶעֱלֵיתִי מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם
h^a^lô᾿ ᾿et-yiśrā᾿ēl he^ce^lêti mē᾿ereṣ miṣrayim
QM-not (acc)-israel brought-up-I from-land egypt...
"Was it not Israel I brought up from the land of Egypt, .."

In this example the word order is Object-Verb-Subject(the subject is part of the verb). The direct object יִשְׂרָאֵל *yiśrā᾿ēl*, indicated by the accusative marker אֶת־ *᾿et*, carries a [Top] head-feature as it fills the topic position in the clause. T, whereto the verb has moved for the checking of its [Past] tense-feature, will be merged with the head Top resulting in TopP. The object will then move to the specifier position of TopP where the checking off of this [Top] head-feature will take place. The scope of the negative in this example, as discussed and illustrated in section (5.1.2) and (5.1.4), will only be on the direct object יִשְׂרָאֵל *yiśrā᾿ēl*, thus another example of constituent-negation. While considering the example above, it is worth noting the distinction proposed of the scope of, respectively, the QM הֲ *h^a^* and the negative לוֹא *lô᾿*. It is proposed that the scope of the QM extends over the entire subsequent phrase (the QM הֲ *h^a^* c-commands all the subsequent phrasal categories), whilst the scope of the negative לוֹא *lô᾿* is merely that of constituent-negation. The scope of the question being asked includes the entire clause *not Israel I brought up from the land of Egypt*.

In (41) Zech 7[7] provides an example of the accusative marker אֵת *᾿ēt*/אֶת־ *᾿et* preceding the direct object, which in turn precedes the relative particle. In this example אֶת־ *᾿et* is preceded by the negative לֹא *lō᾿*:

(41) Zech 7[7]

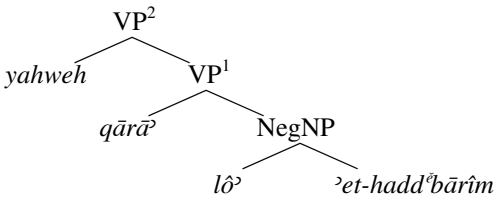
הֲלוֹא אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר קָרָא יְהוָה בְּיַד הַנְּבִיאִים הָרִאשֹׁנִים
h^a^lô᾿ ᾿et-hadd^e^bārîm ᾿^a^šer qārā᾿ yahweh b^e^yad hann^e^bî᾿îm hāri᾿šōnîm
QM-not (acc)-the-words that proclaimed yahweh in/through-hand-of the-prophets the-first
Are (these) not the words that the Lord proclaimed through the earlier prophets ...

To simplify the derivation the adjunct בְּיַד הַנְּבִיאִים הָרִאשֹׁנִים *bᵉyad hannᵉbîʾîm hāriʾšōnîm* will be left aside. The derivation begins with the selection of the item לֹא *lôʾ* and the fully inflected forms, the subject יְהוָה *yahweh*, the verb קָרָא *qārāʾ* and the object אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים *ʾet-haddᵉbārîm* from the lexicon, which carry the following head-, specifier- and complement-features:

	yahweh	*qārāʾ*	*lôʾ*	*ʾet-haddᵉbārîm*
Head-features:	[3MS; Nom]	[Past]		[Acc; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[3MS; Nom]		
Complement-features:		[Acc]	[Neg]	

The object *ʾet-haddᵉbārîm* is the complement of the negative *lôʾ*. Hence, *ʾet-haddᵉbārîm* is merged with *lôʾ* to form NegNP (*lôʾ ʾet-haddᵉbārîm*). The object NegNP is merged with *qārāʾ* to form VP^1. VP^1 is then merged with the subject *yahweh* to form VP^2 as in (42):

(42)

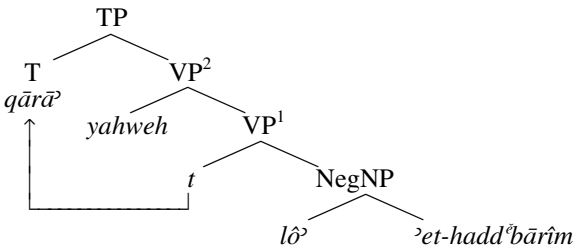


Head-features:	[3MS; Nom]	[Past]		[Acc; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[3MS; Nom]		
Complement-features:		[Acc]	[Neg]	

The [3MS] specifier-features of *qārāʾ* are checked against the [3MS] head-features of *yahweh* with deletion of the specifier-features of *qārāʾ* as specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [Nom] specifier-feature of *qārāʾ* is checked against the [Nom] head-features of *yahweh* with deletion of both [Nom] case-features, as case-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [Acc] complement-feature of *qārāʾ* is checked against the [Acc] head-feature of *ʾet-haddᵉbārîm*, with deletion of both case-features in both categories. The [Neg] complement-feature of *lôʾ* is checked against the [Neg] head-feature of *ʾet-haddᵉbārîm,* with deletion of the [Neg] complement-feature, as complement-features are uninterpretable at LF. To check the [Past] head-feature of *qārāʾ*, VP^2 is merged with the head

T to form TP, and *qārāʾ* is moved to T where the [Past] head-feature is checked as in (43):

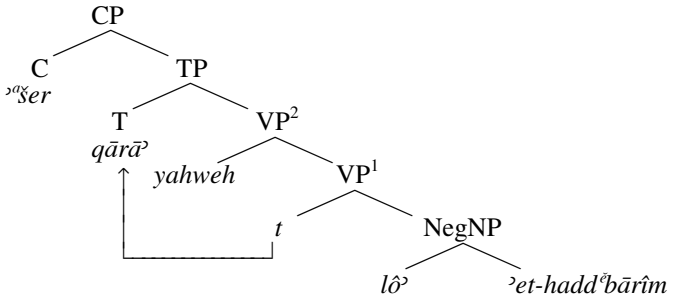
(43)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~] [~~Neg~~]	

In the surface structure the relative particle אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer* precedes the verb *qārāʾ*. This implies the merging of TP with the head C, filled by אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer*, to form CP as in (44):

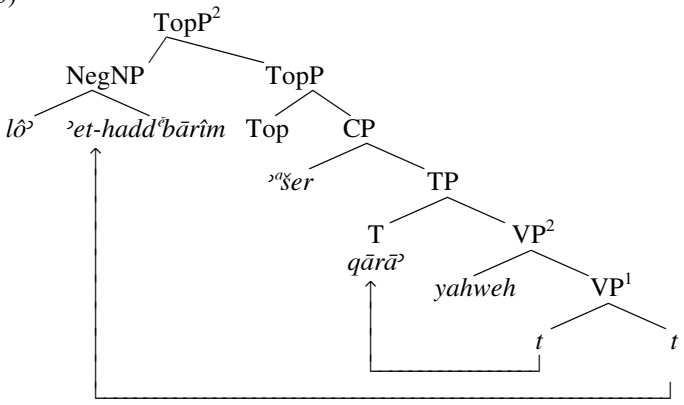
(44)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~] [~~Neg~~]	

The only item remaining to be checked is the [Top] head-feature of the object NegNP (*lōʾ ʾet-haddᵉbārîm*). This is effected by the merging of CP with the head Top to form TopP and the object NegNP (*lōʾ ʾet-haddᵉbārîm*) is then moved to the specifier-position of TopP, indicated as TopP^2 as in (45):

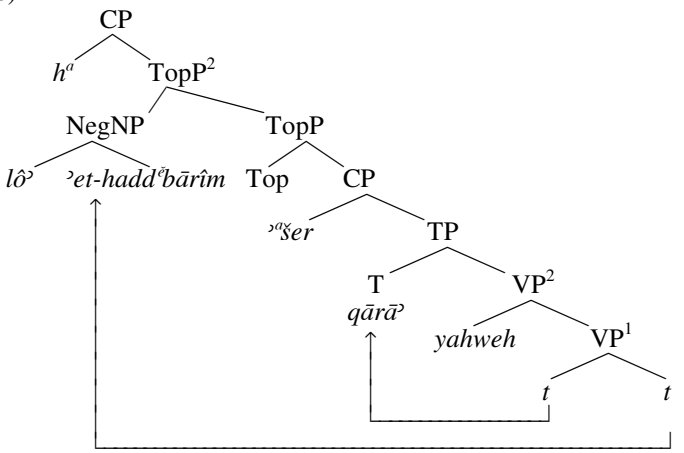
(45)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	[~~Neg~~]

The final step in this derivation is the merging of $TopP^2$ with another head C, filled by the question particle הַ *hᵃ*, to form CP as in (46):

(46)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	[~~Neg~~]

The scope of the negative *lô*ʾ in (46) is the set of nodes that *lô*ʾ c-commands. NegNP is the first branching node that dominates *lô*ʾ and *ʾet-haddᵉbārîm*, implying that the negative *lô*ʾ only has scope over *ʾet-haddᵉbārîm*. Interesting to note is the fact that the question particle הֲ *hª*, in contrast to the negative *lô*ʾ, has broader scope over the whole phrase as the question particle c-commands TopP^2, CP, TP, VP^2 and VP^1.

Considering the different text versions, the NIV and OA take the scope of the negative to be on *ʾet-haddᵉbārîm*. Consider the OA as example:

OA: *Is dit nie die woorde wat die HERE deur die vroeëre profete verkondig het nie,…[Are these not the words that the LORD proclaimed through the former prophets …]*

The JB takes the scope of the negative to extend over the inserted verb *know* as follows:

JB: *Do you not know the words which Yahweh proclaimed through the prophets in the past …*

The RSV takes the scope to extend over *these* and the JPS, NA and GNB take neither the question particle nor the negative into consideration and translate this verse as a positive statement. Consider the RSV and NA as examples:

RSV: *"… were not these the words which the LORD proclaimed by the former prophets?"*

NA: *Daar is mos ook nog die woorde wat ek, die Here, deur die vroeëre profete laat aankondig het …[There are also still the words which I, the Lord, have proclaimed through the former prophets …]*

Given that only the NIV and OA take the scope of the negative to range over the object, *the words*, and in consideration of the above analysis that the scope of the negative ranges only over the object, *i e* an instance of constituent-negation, the following translation is proposed:

(47) *Are (these) not the words that the Lord has proclaimed through the hand of the former/first prophets ...*

In (41) the accusative marker אֵת *ʾēt/*־אֶת *ʾet* precedes the direct object of the clause. The following example is an illustration of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the accusative marker אֵת *ʾēt/*־אֶת *ʾet* with an apparently absent *object*. Consider Num 23[12] in (48):

(48) Num 23[12]

וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמַר הֲלֹא אֵת אֲשֶׁר יָשִׂים יְהוָה בְּפִי אֹתוֹ אֶשְׁמֹר לְדַבֵּר׃

wayyaʿan wayyōʾmar hᵃlōʾ ʾēt ʾᵃšer yāśîm yahweh bᵉfî ʾōtô ʾešmōr lᵉdabbēr

And-answered-he and-said-he QM-not (acc) that puts-he yahweh in-mouth-my (acc)-it keep-I to-speak[68]

He answered, "Must I not speak what the LORD puts in my mouth?"

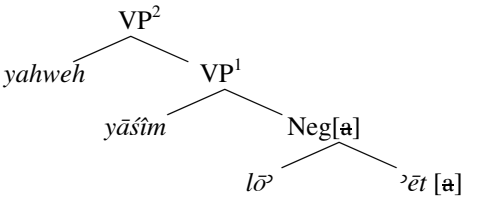
Before proceeding with the derivation, it should be noted that Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 180) contend that the relative marker אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer* is in some cases governed by אֵת *ʾēt/*־אֶת *ʾet* when it (the relative marker) is used as a pronoun. This proposal is rejected on the grounds of the discussion of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the relative particle in sections (5.3.1) and (5.3.2) where it was argued that a syntactically present, but phonologically empty antecedent precedes the relative particle. Hence, it is proposed that example (48) Num 23[12] is derived along the same lines as the derivations discussed in section (5.3.1) and (5.3.2). Thus, it is proposed that a covert antecedent [ø] occurs between the relative particle אֲשֶׁר *ʾᵃšer* and the accusative marker אֵת *ʾēt* indicated as אֲשֶׁר [ø] אֵת. The derivation of הֲלֹא אֵת אֲשֶׁר יָשִׂים יְהוָה [ø] *hᵃlōʾ ʾēt* [ø] *ʾᵃšer yāśîm yahweh* begin with the selection of the items *lōʾ ʾēt* [ø] and the fully inflected forms of the verb *yāśîm* and the subject *yahweh* from the lexicon. The negative *lōʾ* takes *ʾēt* [ø] as complement. These different elements carry the following head-, specifier- and complement-features.

68 Holladay (1971: 377) proposes the translation of אֶשְׁמֹר לְדַבֵּר *ʾešmōr lᵉdabbēr* to be "speak accurately, faithfully".

	Yahweh	*yāśîm*	*lōʾ*	*ʾēt* [~~a~~]
Head-features:	[3MS; Nom]	[Future]		[Acc; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[3MS; Nom]		
Complement-features:		[Acc]	[Neg]	

The next operation in the derivation is the merging of *ʾēt* [~~a~~] with the negative *lōʾ* to form Neg[~~a~~]. Neg[~~a~~] (*lōʾ ʾēt* [~~a~~]) is then merged with *yāśîm* to form VP^1. VP^1 is then merged with the subject *yahweh* to form VP^2. These operations are illustrated in (49):

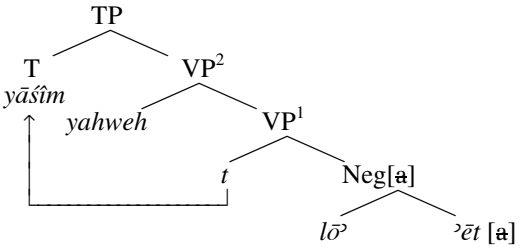
(49)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]		[~~Acc~~; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]		
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	[~~Neg~~]	

The [3MS] specifier-features of *yāśîm* are checked against the [3MS] head-features of *Yahweh* with deletion of the specifier-features. The [Nom] specifier-feature of *yāśîm* is checked against the [Nom] head-feature of *yahweh* with deletion of both case-features in both categories. The [Acc] complement-feature of *yāśîm* is checked against the [Acc] head-features of *ʾēt* [~~a~~] with deletion of both features in both categories. To check the [Future] head-feature of *yāśîm*, VP^2 is merged with the head T, carrying the tense-feature, resulting in the phrasal category TP. The verb *yāśîm* is then moved to T where the checking of this tense-feature takes place (50):

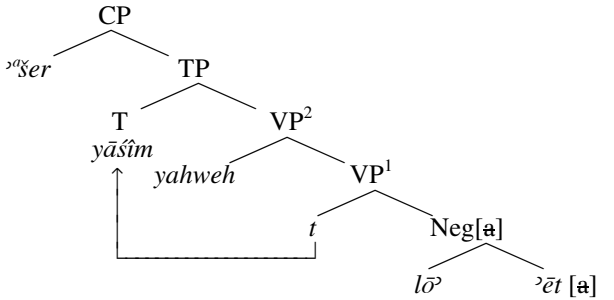
(50)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	[~~Neg~~]

The following operation to be executed in this derivation is the merging of TP with the head C, filled by the relative particle *ʾᵃšer*, to form CP, illustrated in (51):

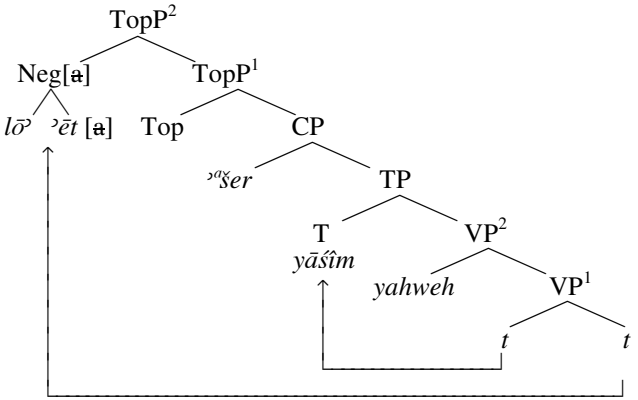
(51)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	[~~Neg~~]

The only remaining feature that needs to be checked is the [Top] head-feature of *ʾēt* [~~a~~]. To effect this checking CP is merged with the head Top, carrying the top-feature, resulting in TopP, and Neg[~~a~~] *lōʾ ʾēt* [~~a~~] is moved to the specifier position of TopP, indicated as TopP^2. These operations are illustrated in (52):

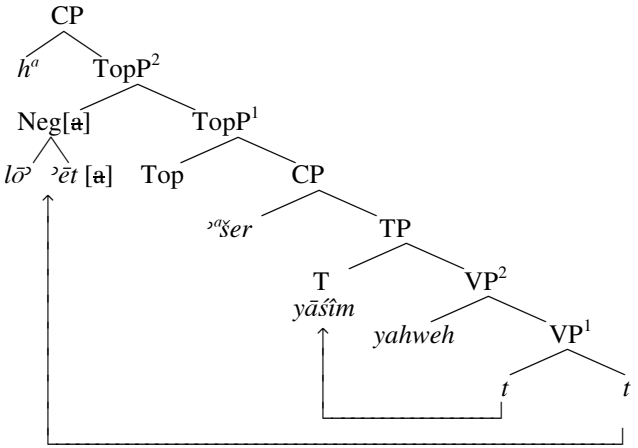
(52)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	[~~Neg~~]

In the surface structure the negative לֹא *lōʾ* is preceded by the question particle הַ *hᵃ*. Hence, the final step in the derivation is the merging of TopP^2 with the head C, filled by the question particle הַ *hᵃ*, resulting in CP as in (53):

(53)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~; Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	[~~Neg~~]

In (53) the scope of the negative is the set of nodes that the negative *lō'* c-commands. The first branching node that dominates *lō'*, *i e* Neg[~~ה~~], also dominates *'ēt* [~~את~~]. Thus, the scope of the negative ranges over the syntactically present, but phonologically empty [~~ה~~]. The latter part of the verse under discussion should be translated as *accurately speak*. Of the various text versions, the RSV, OA, JB and NIV take the scope of the negative to range over this last part of the verse, thus, considering the scope of the negative to extend over the clause *speak accurately* and not, as the above analysis has indicated, over the object *'ēt* [~~את~~]. Of all the considered text versions, the OA is the only version that conveys, to some extent, the syntactically present, but phonetically empty antecedent, by translating *'ēt* [~~את~~] with *alles* [everything]. Consider the RSV and OA as examples:

RSV: *And he answered, "Must I not take heed to speak what the LORD puts in my mouth?"*

OA: *En hy antwoord daarop dit: Moet ek dan nie sorgvuldig alles spreek wat die HERE in my mond lê nie? [And upon that he answered this: Should I not carefully speak everything that the LORD has laid in my mouth?]*

The JPS, NA and GNB, on the other hand, do not consider the negative at all. Consider the JPS as example:

JPS: *He replied, "I can only repeat faithfully what the LORD puts in my mouth."*

In light of the discussions on the scope of the negative *lō'* and the different translations, the following translation is proposed:

(54) *Shall I not that which the Lord has put in my mouth, accurately speak?*

5.5 The negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding adjectives

Adjectives describe nouns by qualifying their state. The basic paradigm of the declension of the adjective in BH is as in (55):

(55)

	Masculine	Feminine
	st abs	st abs
Singular	טוֹב	טוֹבָה
Plural	טוֹבִים	טוֹבוֹת

Qualification by an adjective can be attributive (the *good* king) or predicative (the king is *good*). BH adjectives are not marked for person. The same form is used in apposition or predicatively with subjects of the first, second or third person. Adjectives are further either masculine or feminine and can only be singular or plural. An adjective agrees with its noun in number and gender (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 231). Gai (1995: 1) states that the basic characteristic of the adjective is gender-inflection (combined with number-inflection, which is shared also with the substantive). A noun does not necessarily express its gender by formal-grammatical means: in Hebrew, for instance אֶרֶץ *ʾereṣ* "earth" is feminine, but it lacks the feminine marker. The Hebrew substantive אָב *ʾāb* "father", undoubtedly masculine, forms its plural by the feminine plural ending, while "women", undoubtedly feminine, is נָשִׁים *nāšîm* with the masculine plural ending ־ִים *îm*. The inflection of the adjective, however, is purely grammatical, and is carried out by purely grammatical means used for purely grammatical purposes, *i e* agreement with the qualified or otherwise referred-to substantive, the gender of which may stem from having a natural sex or just from the arbitrary determination of the language (Gai 1995: 2). Gai (1995: 7) states that adjectives are adjectives not because of their function in the sentence, but because it is their inherent trait. The adjective, like the substantive, does not change its identity in different syntactical situations. Consequently, an adjective which functions alone, without a qualified noun, remains an adjective; it does not become a substantive because of that. In the same way that a substantive does not change its identity when functioning as a subject or an object, an adjective does

not change its identity when functioning as a qualifier, a predicate (which is without a qualified noun), or alone.

The following distinction can be drawn between attributive[69] and predicative qualification:

- The adjectival qualification is subordinate to its noun and can never be one of the main elements of a sentence. An attributive adjective agrees with its noun in number, gender and definiteness (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 232).

- A predicative adjective functions as a predicate. In contrast to an attributive adjective a predicative adjective is syntactically speaking the main element of a (verbless) sentence. A predicative adjective agrees with its noun in number and gender, but is always indefinite. In BH it usually follows the subject, but can also precede it (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 234).

5.5.1 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the adjective

The manifestation of לֹא *lō'* in combination with adjectives comprises 78 occurrences. Hence, the composition of these 78 occurrences must be explained from the very outset (cf Addendum Q). When the number of occurrences of לֹא *lō'* preceding adjectives was determined with BibleWorks, it was evident that the search included not only adjectives, but also the numerals and the demonstrative pronoun.[70] It seems, however, that BibleWorks considers the term *adjective* as an umbrella-term which

69 In all the classical Semitic languages substantive-adjective is the regular sequence if the adjective functions as attribute. Joosten (1993: 190) refers to some examples where it seems that the adjective precedes the substantive. He states that it occurs in cases where the substantive has little or no informative value, that the attributive adjective may be positioned before it. This is the case when a) the substantive is a mere "prop" word (like "man" or "human being"); b) the substantive has been mentioned earlier in the context and is well understood. However, this will not be considered for purposes of this research.

70 Allegro (1955: 309) states that the most common use of the demonstrative particle *zeh* is as a simple adjectival demonstrative of the "this-the man" or "the man-the this" types. It also has the force of a substantive, "this man/thing".

also includes the numerals and demonstrative pronouns. An example of each category will be utilised to illustrate this phenomenon:

- לֹא *lōʾ* preceding an adjective

(56) Gen 2[18]

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לֹא־טוֹב הֱיוֹת הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ

wayyōʾmer yahweh ʾlōhîm lōʾ-ṭôb hʿyôt hāʾādām lʾbaddô
And-said-he lord god not-good to-be the-man to-alone-his
The Lord God said, "It is not good for the man to be alone."

In (56) לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the adjective טוֹב *ṭôb* and is joined to the adjective by means of a *maqqēf*.

The negative לוֹא *lôʾ* precedes adjectives in (57) and (58). It is possible that לוֹא *lôʾ* precedes an adjective in a third example (59), *i e* Jer 8[6] which will also be discussed. Consider the examples in (57) to (59):

(57) 1 Sam 2[24]

אַל בָּנַי כִּי לוֹא־טוֹבָה הַשְּׁמֻעָה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי שֹׁמֵעַ מַעֲבִרִים עַם־יְהוָה׃

ʾal bānāy kî lôʾ-ṭôbâ haššʾmuʿâ ʾʷšer ʾānōkî šōmēaʿ maʿʷbirîm ʿam-yahweh
no sons-my for not-good-(adj fem sing) the-rumour that I hear spreading people-of-lord
No, my sons; not good is the report that I hear spreading among the LORD's people.

In (57) the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* precedes a feminine singular adjective and is joined to the subsequent adjective by means of the *maqqēf*.

(58) Is 16[14]

וּשְׁאָר מְעַט מְזֻעָר לוֹא כַבִּיר׃

ûšʾʾār mʾʾaṭ mizʿār lôʾ kabbîr
and-remnant little few not strong-(adj masc sing)
and the survivors will be very few (and) not strong.

In (58) the negative לוֹא *lô'* negates a masculine singular adjective.

(59) Jer 8[6]

הִקְשַׁבְתִּי וָאֶשְׁמָע לוֹא־כֵן יְדַבְּרוּ אֵין אִישׁ נִחָם עַל־רָעָתוֹ לֵאמֹר מֶה עָשִׂיתִי

hiqšabtî wā'ešmāʿ lô'-kēn yᵉdabbērû 'ên 'îš niḥām ʿal-rāʿātô lē'mōr meh ʿāśîtî

listened-carefully-I and-heard-I not-properly have-spoken-they no man has-regrets with-regard-to-evil-his to-say what have-done-I

I have listened attentively, but I hear not properly (what) they said. No man repents of his wickedness, saying, "What have I done?"

In (59) לוֹא *lô'* negates the particle כֵּן *kēn.* The particle כֵּן *kēn* can be analysed as either being an adjective or adverb. As an adjective the meaning will be *rightly, justly, aptly, upright, honest, right*. If it is considered to be an adverb the meaning will be *so, thus, just so,* and so forth. According to BibleWorks the particle כֵּן *kēn* used in this specific verse is an adverb. However, in the search-list this example is indicated as the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding an adjective.

- לֹא *lō'* preceding a demonstrative pronoun

(60) Ex 14[12]

הֲלֹא־זֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְנוּ אֵלֶיךָ בְּמִצְרַיִם

hᵃlō'-zeh haddābār 'ᵃšer dibbarnû 'ēleykā bᵉmiṣrayim

QM-not-this the-word which have-spoken-we to-you in-egypt

Is not this the word which we spoke to you in Egypt?

In (60) לֹא *lō'* is joined to a question-marker הֲ *hᵃ*, and precedes the subsequent demonstrative pronoun זֶה *zeh.* Again the exact scope of the negative, in this case joined to an interrogative particle הֲ *hᵃ*, must be determined.

- The negative לֹא *lō'* negating numerals

In (61) לֹא *lō'* immediately precedes three numerals (printed in italics):

(61) Num 11[19]

לֹא יוֹם אֶחָד תֹּאכְלוּן וְלֹא יוֹמָיִם וְלֹא חֲמִשָּׁה יָמִים וְלֹא עֲשָׂרָה יָמִים וְלֹא עֶשְׂרִים יוֹם׃

lō' yôm 'eḥād tō'kᵉlûn wᵉlō' yômāyim wᵉlō' ḥᵃmiššâ yāmîm wᵉlō' ᶜᵃśārâ yāmîm wᵉlō' ᶜeśrîm yôm

not day one will-eat-you and-not days and-not five days and-not ten days and-not twenty day

You will eat it for not one day, or not two days, or not five, or not ten days or not twenty days

In (61) five cases of the negative לֹא *lō'* are encountered. In three of the five cases the negative immediately precedes the numeral (printed in italics) and it could thus be argued that the negative negates these numerals. The salient question that arises concerns the nouns that follow the negative. Does the scope of the negative encompass only the subsequent numeral or does it extend to include the noun as well? It is proposed that the numeral and noun, in each case, form a syntactic unit, and that the scope in these cases will range over the adjective and noun. Concerning the first case of the negative, לֹא יוֹם אֶחָד *lō' yôm 'eḥād* (not day one) where the negative immediately precedes the noun יוֹם *yôm,* it is proposed that the scope of the negative will range over the unit of the common noun and numeral.

5.5.2 The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding adjectives

The following example (62) to be discussed of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding an adjective is in a verbless clause,[71] with the adjective being the predicate[72] in the verbless clause.[73] Revell (1989: 8) states that a predicate

71 Cf Revell (1989: 4) for a discussion on the basic form of verbless clauses in BH, *i e* the subject (the topic of the clause) and predicate (the information supplied on that topic). Cf also Miller (1999).

72 Revell (1989: 8) states that a predicate headed by a participle or adjective precedes its subject in relatively few situations. Where it does, however, it is clearly the more significant of the two constituents.

73 Swiggers (1991: 175) points out a very important fact regarding negation in verbless sentences. Verbal sentences and verbless sentences contrast in at least two ways with respect to negation:

- verbal sentences do not show the negation marker אַיִן *'ên*.
- in verbless sentences the distinction between total and restricted negation is marked by the opposition between אַיִן *'ên* and לֹא *lō'*.

headed by a participle or adjective precedes its subject in relatively few situations. Where it does, however, it is clearly the more significant of the two constituents. If this proposal is accepted, then the predicate headed by an adjective in the following example is the more significant of the two constituents. Consider 1 Sam 26[16]:

(62) 1 Sam 26[16]

לֹא־טוֹב הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ

lōʾ-ṭôb haddābār hazzeh ʾᵃšer ʿāśîtā
not-good (is) the-matter/thing this that have-done-you
Not good is this thing that you have done.

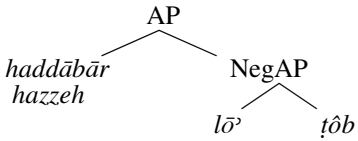
In the above verbless clause the predicate is a projection of an adjective. The derivation of this clause begins with the selection of the item לֹא *lōʾ* and two fully inflected forms, the common noun הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *haddābār hazzeh* and the adjective טוֹב *ṭôb* from the lexicon. The negative לֹא *lōʾ* takes this adjective as complement. טוֹב *ṭôb* is therefore merged with לֹא *lōʾ* to form a NegAP (negative adjective phrase). The NegAP containing the features [Top;Neg] is merged with the NP (noun phrase) / subject *haddābār hazzeh* to form an AP. The AP *ṭôb* and NP *haddābār hazzeh* have the following head-, specifier- and complement-features:

	haddābār hazzeh	*lōʾ*	*ṭôb*
Head-features:	[MS]		[MS; Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:			
Complement-features:		[Neg]	

Thus far, the derivation will be as in (63):

Swiggers (1991: 176) illustrates the distinction with examples underscoring the point that negation by means of אֵין *ʾêyn* in verbless sentences implies total negation (in this study referred to as sentence-negation), whereas negation in verbless sentences by means of לֹא *lōʾ* implies restricted negation (referred to as constituent-negation in this study). However, investigation of the distinction between the syntactic nature of these two negative forms in verbless sentences falls outside the scope of this research.

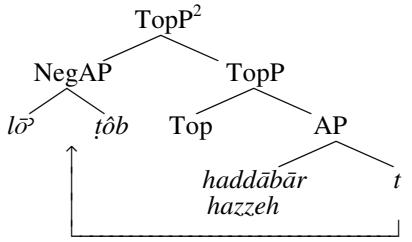
(63)



Head-features:	[MS]	[MS; Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		
Complement-features:	[Neg]	

In BH the adjective usually agrees with the word it qualifies according to most of its congruency features (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 57). A predicative adjective agrees with its noun in number and gender (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 234). In the above example the [MS] head-features of both the subject *haddābār hazzeh* and *ṭôb* match. The [Neg] complement-feature of the negative *lō'* is matched with the [Neg] head-feature of *ṭôb* with deletion of the [Neg] complement-feature, as complement-features are uninterpretable at LF. The remaining feature that needs to be checked is the [Top] head-feature on *ṭôb*. This is brought about by the merging of AP with the head Top to form TopP. Then NegAP (*lō' ṭôb*) is moved to the specifier-position of TopP (indicated as TopP^2), where [Top] is checked against the top-feature residing in the head Top. The final structure will be as in (64):

(64)



Head-features:	[MS]	[MS; Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		
Complement-features:	[Neg]	

The scope of the negative *lō'* in (64) is the set of nodes that *lō'* c-commands. In the above derivation *lō'* c-commands *ṭôb* as the first branching node that dominates *lō'*, *i e* NegAP also dominates *ṭôb* implying that the scope of the negative *lō'* lies only on the predicate *ṭôb*. The RSV, JB, NIV,

JPS and NA take the scope of the negative to range over the adjective *ṭôb*. However, these translations do not consider the topicalisation of the predicate in this specific example. Consider the NIV as example:

NIV: *What you have done is not good.*

The OA takes the scope of the negative to be on *goed wat jy gedoen het* (good that you have done). Furthermore, the OA, as with the other translations, does not consider the topicalisation of the predicate. Consider the translation of the OA:

OA: *Hierdie ding is nie goed wat jy gedoen het nie! [This thing is not good that you have done!]*

The GNB translate this verse freely and does not consider the negative at all. Consider the translation of the GNB:

GNB: *You failed in your duty, Abner!*

In all the above translations the predicate is translated as though following the subject, whilst, according to the derivational structure in (64), the predicate appears in a topic position. The following translation is proposed:

(65) *Not good is this thing that you have done.*

5.6 The negative לֹא *lō'* preceding adverbs

A traditional distinction is drawn between arguments (expressions which typically denote the participants in the activity or the event described by a verb) and adjuncts (expressions providing additional information about the relevant activity/event, its location, the time at which it took place, the manner in which it took place, and so forth). Thus, in a sentence such as:

(66) [They] ignored [her] *completely.*

The bracketed subject *they* and the bracketed complement *her* are arguments of the verb *ignored*, while the italicised expression is an *adjunct* (Radford

1997: 142). Adverbs are assumed to be adjuncts adjoined to another category to form an extended category.

Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 305) regard adverbs as an inclusive word class that can modify a word, a constituent or a sentence. Sub-classes are distinguished primarily according to the nature of the modification:

- Ordinary adverbs: adverbs that modify a sentence or a constituent.
- Modal words: adverbs that modify a sentence.
- Focus particles: adverbs that can modify a word, a constituent or a sentence.

A semantic criterion has been adopted to distinguish the fourth class of adverbs, namely

- Negatives: adverbs that negate a clause or a sentence (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999:306).

5.6.1 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding adverbs

The data search yielded 30 cases of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding adverbs (cf Addendum R).

(67) Gen 48[18]

וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל־אָבִיו לֹא־כֵן אָבִי

wayyō'mer yôsēf 'el-'ābîw lō'-kēn 'ābî

And-said-he joseph to-father-his not-so father-my…

Joseph said to him, "Not so, my father…

In (67) לֹא *lō'* negates the adverb כֵּן *kēn*.

(68) Num 24[17]

אֶרְאֶנּוּ וְלֹא עַתָּה

'er'ennû w^{e}lō' 'attâ

see-I-him but-not now

I see him, but not now.

In (68) לֹא *lō'* negates the adverb עַתָּה *'attâ.*

5.6.2 The scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding adverbs

Two examples of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding adverbs will be illustrated below, the one involving a verbal clause and the other a verbless clause. Consider first the example (69) of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding an adverb in a verbal clause:

(69) Hab 2[7]

הֲלוֹא פֶתַע יָקוּמוּ נֹשְׁכֶיךָ

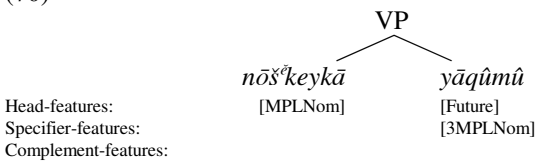
hᵃlôʾ fetaʿ yāqûmû nōšᵉkeykā

Will-not suddenly (adv) appear/arise your creditors

Will not suddenly your debtors arise?

The derivation of (69) begins with the selection of the items לוֹא *lôʾ* and פֶתַע *fetaʿ*, the verb יָקוּמוּ *yāqûmû* and the subject נֹשְׁכֶיךָ *nōšᵉkeykā* from the lexicon. The subject *nōšᵉkeykā* is a participle functioning as subject. According to Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 163) the participle, if functioning as a noun, displays all the characteristics of a noun, namely the status absolutus form, the status constructus form and the ability to take a pronominal suffix. In (69) the participle acts as a noun with a pronominal suffix. In the above sentence the negative *lôʾ* takes the adverb *fetaʿ* as complement. The next step in the derivation is the merging of the verb *yāqûmû* with its subject *nōšᵉkeykā* to form VP, with the head-, specifier- and complement-features of the subject and verb indicated in (70):

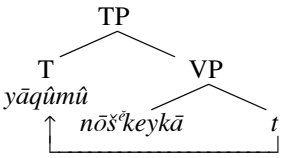
(70)



The [3MPL] specifier-features of *yāqûmû* are checked against the [MPL] head-features of the subject *nōšᵉkeykā*, resulting in the deletion of the specifier-features on *yāqûmû*, as specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF. According to Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 175) nouns (including proper names) are characteristically third person entities and govern a verb in the

third person form as subject. This implies that the third person-feature of the verb are checked against the subject (in this example a participle acting as noun) that carries an inherent [3]rd person-feature. The [Nom] specifier-feature of *yāqûmû* is checked against the [Nom] head-feature of *nōšᵉkeykā*, resulting in the deletion of both [Nom] features in both categories. The next step in the derivation concerns the checking of the [Future] tense-feature of *yāqûmû*. This is effected by merging VP with the head T to form TP. The verb *yāqûmû* is then moved to T where the checking of the [Future] tense-feature takes place as illustrated in (71):

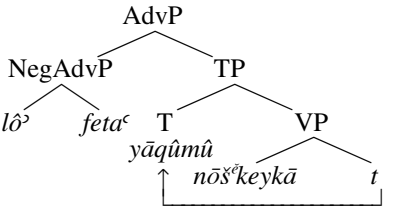
(71)



Head-features:	[MPL~~Nom~~]	[Future]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MPLNom~~]
Complement-features:		

In the surface structure the adverb *fetaᶜ* precedes the verb. The negative *lôʾ* takes the adverb *fetaᶜ* as complement. The adverb *fetaᶜ* is therefore merged with the negative *lôʾ*, resulting in a NegAdvP. In this NegAdvP the [Neg] head-feature of the adverb *fetaᶜ* is checked against the [Neg] complement-feature of the negative *lôʾ*, resulting in deletion of the complement-feature. TP is then merged with this NegAdvP. These operations are illustrated in (72):

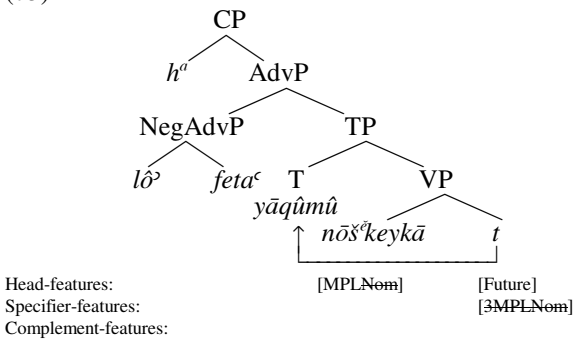
(72)



Head-features:	[MPL~~Nom~~]	[Future]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MPLNom~~]
Complement-features:		

The final step in this derivation is the merging of NegAdvP with the head C, filled by the question particle *h*^{a}, to form CP as in (73):

(73)



The scope of the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* comprises all the nodes that it c-commands. In (73) the branching node NegAdvP dominates both the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* and the adverb *feta*^{ʿ} and these categories do not dominate each other, implying that the scope of the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* extends only over the adverb *feta*^{ʿ}. Thus, it could be argued that it is an example of constituent-negation. If the different translations are considered it is evident that the exact scope of the negative is all but certain. The RSV, JB and NIV take the scope of the negative לוֹא *lô* to range over *your debtors/creditors*, rather than on the adverb *feta*^{ʿ}. Consider the NIV as example:

NIV: *Will not your debtors suddenly arise?*

The OA seems to take the scope of the negative to be on the adverb *feta*^{ʿ}. Consider the OA:

OA: *Sal jou verdrukkers nie skielik opstaan…[Will your oppressors not suddenly arise …]*

The JPS, NA and GNB do not translate the negative at all. The GNB translates this verse freely and translates the adverb with *before you know it* and does not consider the negative at all. Consider the NA and GNB:

NA: *… dat skuldeisers vir wie jy sidder, skielik voor jou sal staan en jou sal kaalstroop …[that debtors of whom you are afraid, will suddenly stand before you and will plunder you …]*

GNB: *But before you know it, you that have conquered others will be in debt yourselves and be forced to pay interest.*

According to the above analysis, the scope of the negative לוֹא *lô* ranges solely over the adverb; hence, the following translation is proposed:

(74) *Will your debtors not suddenly appear?*

This brings us to the following example, in which the negative לֹא *lō'* precedes an adverb in a verbless clause:

(75) 2 Sam 23[5]

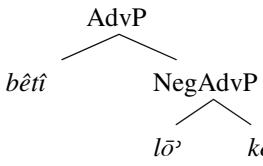
כִּי־לֹא־כֵן בֵּיתִי עִם־אֵל

kî-lō'-kēn bêtî ʿim-'ēl
For not so (adverb) [is] the-house-of-mine with god
For not so is my house with God?

The derivation of (75) begins with the selection of the negative לֹא *lō'*, the adverb כֵּן *kēn*[74] and the fully inflected form בֵּיתִי *bêtî* from the lexicon. In this example the subject of the verbless clause is *bêtî*, with the predicate an AdvP, *i e* a projection of the adverb כֵּן *kēn*. The AdvP כֵּן *kēn* is the complement of the negative לֹא *lō'*, *i e* the adverb כֵּן *kēn* is merged with the negative לֹא *lō'* to form a NegAdvP. The NegAdvP (negative לֹא *lō'* with adverb כֵּן *kēn*) carries a [Top] head-feature and is merged with the NP (nounphrase) subject בֵּיתִי *bêtî* to form an AdvP as in (76):

74 Cf Mulder (1981: 221-2) for a brief reference to the negative preceding the particle כֵּן. Also cf Talstra's (1981) article on the use of the computer to register and to arrange all syntactic combinations in which כֵּן *kēn* is used with BH.

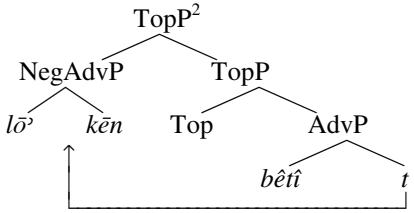
(76)



Head-features:	[MS]	[Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		
Complement-features:	[Neg]	

The [Neg] complement-feature of the negative is checked against the [Neg] head-feature of its complement, the adverb כֵּן *kēn*. In order to check the [Top] feature of the adverb, NegAdvP is merged with the head Top to form TopP. The NegAdvP (negative לֹא *lō'* with adverb כֵּן *kēn*) is then moved to the specifier position of TopP, indicated as TopP^2 where the checking is done. These operations are illustrated in (77):

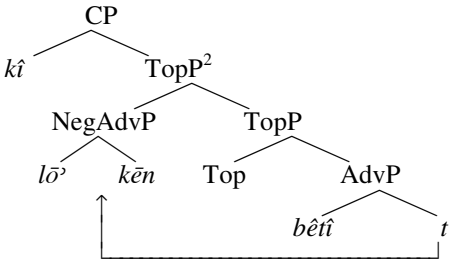
(77)



Head-features:	[MS]	[Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]	

Finally, TopP^2 is merged with the head C, assumed to be filled by the particle of reason כִּי *kî*, to form CP. The final stage of the derivation will be as in (78):

(78)



Head-features:	[MS]	[Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]	

The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in (78) will include all the nodes that לֹא *lō'* c-commands. The first branching node that dominates both *lō'* and *kēn* is NegAdvP, implying that the negative לֹא *lō'* c-commands only the adverb כֵּן *kēn*, thus having scope only over the adverb כֵּן *kēn*. This is concluded to be another example of constituent-negation. Considering the different text versions, the RSV, NIV and JPS take the scope of the negative to range over *my house*. Consider the JPS as example:

JPS: *Is not my House established before God?*

The OA is the only version considering the scope of the negative to be over the adverb *so*; However, it does not take the topicalisation of the predicate into account. Consider the translation of the OA:

OA: *Want is my huis nie so by God nie? [For is my house not so with God?]*

The JB, NA and GNB translate this verse as a sentence in the positive and do not take the negative into consideration at all. Consider the JB as example:

JB: *Yes, my house stands firm with God: …*

Considering the above analyses on the scope of the negative, the following translation is proposed:

(79) *For not so is my house with God ….*

The above two derivations of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding adverbs were considered as instances of constituent-negation. The following proposal made by Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 660) will be evaluated in terms of the above conclusion that the negatives preceding adverbs exhibit instances of constituent-negation. They argue that the adverb עוֹד *ʿôd* is being negated by לֹא *lōʾ* in the example in (80):

(80) Jer 22[12]

וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לֹא־יִרְאֶה עוֹד׃
wᵉʾet-hāʾāreṣ hazzōʾt lōʾ-yirʾeh ʿôd
and-(acc)-the-land the-this not-shall-see-he more
And this land he shall *no more* see / see *no more*.[75]

They postulate that the negated element is the adverb עוֹד *ʿôd*, even though the negative לֹא *lōʾ* immediately precedes the verb. Could this assumption be accepted? In Chapter 4 it was argued that cases of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the finite verbs are to be considered as instances of sentence-negation. In (80) the negative immediately precedes the finite verb יִרְאֶה *yirʾeh.* Without providing the detailed tree-diagram of this sentence, the derivation would follow these steps. The object אֶת־הָאָרֶץ *ʾet-hāʾāreṣ* would land in the specifier position of TopP. The verb would have to move to the head T (of TP) where its [Future] tense-feature can be checked. TP would merge with NegP. The adverb would fill the rightmost position, that is, as part of VP^1. The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in this example (80) would then be ranging over TP, VP^2 and VP^1. Hence, it is correct to maintain, as Waltke & O'Connor do, that the scope of the negative ranges over the adverb, but incorrect to exclude the verb from the scope of the negative.

5.7 The negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding prepositions

Prepositions designate the relationship between verbs and nouns or between nouns themselves. In BH, prepositions precede the nouns they govern. The noun accompanying the preposition is the preposition's complement. The preposition and its complement together form a prepositional phrase.

75 Waltke & O'Connor's (1990) translation.

Prepositions may also take pronominal suffixes in the place of nouns as complements (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 239).

5.7.1 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding prepositions

The next syntactic manifestation that will be discussed is the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding prepositions/prepositional phrases, of which 251 cases are to be found (cf Addendum S). Consider (81) and (82) as examples:

(81) Lev 22[20]

כִּי־לֹא לְרָצוֹן יִהְיֶה לָכֶם׃

kî-lō' lᵉrāṣôn yihyé lākem

because-not for-favour-(preposition לְ *lᵉ* + noun masc sing) will-be-it to-you

because not for a favour will it be to you

Lev 22[20] is an example of לֹא *lō'* preceding the preposition לְ *lᵉ* with רָצוֹן *rāṣôn* (noun).

(82) Ex 16[8]

לֹא־עָלֵינוּ תְלֻנֹּתֵיכֶם כִּי עַל־יְהוָה׃

lō'-ʿālênû tᵉlunnōtêkem kî ʿal-yahweh

not-against-us-(preposition עַל *ʿal* with pron suff 1st pl) (are) grumbling-your but against-yahweh

Not against us are you grumbling, but against the LORD.

In (82) לֹא *lō'* negates the prepositional phrase עָלֵינוּ *ʿālênû.*

Cases are also encountered of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding prepositions in verbless clauses, as in (83):

(83) Job 28[14]

תְּהוֹם אָמַר לֹא בִי־הִיא וְיָם אָמַר אֵין עִמָּדִי׃

tᵉhôm ʾāmar lōʾ bî-hîʾ wʸᵉyām ʾāmar ʾên ʿimmādî

primeval-ocean says-he not in-me-(preposition בְּ *bᵉ* with pron suff 1st sing) she-(personal pronoun 3rd fem sing) and-sea says-he not with-me

The primeval ocean says, "Not in me is she," and the sea says, "It is not with me."

In (83) the negative לֹא *lōʾ* immediately precedes the prepositional phrase[76] בִּי *bî*. The question that needs to be answered is whether the scope of the negative is merely on the prepositional phrase or whether it extends to include the entire subsequent phrase.

The negative לוֹא *lôʾ* precedes prepositions or prepositional phrases in four cases. Consider (84) and (85):

(84) Jer 5[10]

עֲלוּ בְשָׂרוֹתֶיהָ וְשַׁחֵתוּ וְכָלָה אַל־תַּעֲשׂוּ הָסִירוּ נְטִישׁוֹתֶיהָ כִּי לוֹא לַיהוָה הֵמָּה׃

ʿᵃlû bᵉśārôteyhā wᵉšaḥētû wᵉkālâ ʾal-taʿᵃśû hāsîrû nᵉṭîšôteyhā kî lôʾ layahweh hēmmâ

go through-vine-terraces-her and-ruin and-be-complete-it not-must-perform-you remove shoots-her for not to-yahweh they

"Go through her vineyards and ruin them, but do not destroy them completely. Strip off her branches, for they do not belong to the Lord."

In the example in (84) לוֹא *lôʾ* negates the prepositional phrase לַיהוָה *layahweh*. The question that requires answering is whether the scope of the negative is only on the prepositional phrase or whether it extends to include the whole subsequent phrase.

76 Van Peursen (1999: 225-6) discusses the use of אֵין *ʾên* in clauses indicating non-existence or non-presence and also refers to the employment of לֹא *lōʾ* to indicate non-existence or non-presence, providing this very example from Job 28[14] as an example. Van Peursen's proposal is that לֹא *lōʾ* parallels אֵין *ʾên* in this use.

(85) Lam 1[12]

לוֹא אֲלֵיכֶם כָּל־עֹבְרֵי דֶרֶךְ
lôʾ ʾ^alêkem kol-ʿōbrê derek
not for-you all-who-pass road
It is not for you, all who pass by

The question that arises is whether the scope of the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* comprises only the subsequent prepositional phrase or whether it extends further than this.

5.7.2 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding prepositions

The following example (86) illustrates the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding a prepositional phrase:

(86) Job 28[14]

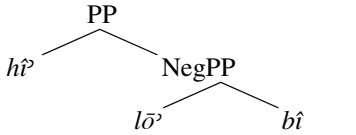
תְּהוֹם אָמַר לֹא בִי־הִיא
t^{ĕ}hôm ʾāmar lōʾ bî-hîʾ
primeval-ocean said-he not in-me (preposition בְּ *b^{ĕ}* with pron suff 1st sing) [is] she
NIV: *The deep says, 'It is not in me'; ...*

The first step in this derivation is the selection of the predicate בִי *bî* with the head-feature [Top; Neg] and subject הִיא *hîʾ* (an independent personal pronoun) with the head-features [3FS] from the lexicon. Example (86) exhibits the occurrence of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding a PP in a verbless clause. The negative לֹא *lōʾ* takes a PP (prepositional phrase) as complement and is therefore merged with PP to form a NegPP. The next step is the merging of the predicate בִי *bî* and subject הִיא *hîʾ* to form a PP as in (87). This example illustrates one of the syntactic functions of prepositional phrases, *i e* as predicate (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 240). Revell (1989: 10) states that a pronoun (functioning as subject) is less significant, when it follows the predicate in a verbless clause.[77] Muraoka (1991: 144), in

77 Cf Buth (1999) for a discussion on the word order of verbless clauses where he states that the underlying word order is Subject-Predicate. Also to be considered is Niccacci (1999).

reference to this, raises the point that a prepositional phrase in the first slot tends to be emphatic, mostly in the *identificatory* sense.

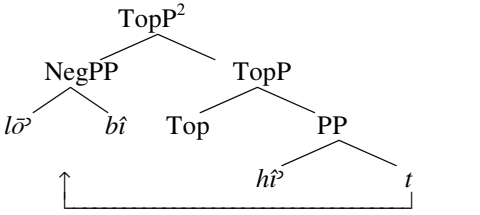
(87)



Head-features: [3FS] [Top;Neg]
Specifier-features:
Complement-features: [Neg]

The [3FS] head-features of the independent personal pronoun *hî'* are interpretable at LF and therefore need not be checked and deleted. The reason for this is that in BH, in verbless clauses with prepositional phrases, no agreement is indicated between the subject and the prepositional predicate. The independent personal pronoun *hî'* could be replaced by any independent personal pronoun (first person singular/plural; second person masculine/feminine singular and plural; third person masculine singular/plural or third person feminine plural). Such a replacement would not lead to ungrammaticality. Hence, it is maintained that the third person feminine singular head-features of *hî'* play no role in the derivation of this clause and need not be checked. The PP *bî* carries the head-feature [Top] and for the checking of this [Top] feature NegPP is merged with the head Top to form TopP. The NegPP (*lō'* + *bî*) is then moved to the specifier position of TopP, indicated as $TopP^2$ in (88):

(88)



Head-features: [3FS] [Top; Neg]
Specifier-features:
Complement-features: [Neg]

The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* is the set of nodes that לֹא *lō'* c-commands. In (88) the negative לֹא *lō'* c-commands *bî* as NegPP, the first branching node, dominates both לֹא *lō'* and *bî*. Hence, the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* extends only over the predicate *bî*. Considering the different text versions, the RSV, JB, NIV, JPS and NA take the scope to range over the predicate *bî*, but they do not consider the topicalisation in this verse. Consider the RSV as example:

RSV: *The deep says, 'It is not in me,'*

The OA takes the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* to range over the subject, with the predicate falling outside the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* as in:

OA: *Die wêreldvloed sê: In my is dit nie; [The deep says: In me it is not;].*

The GNB freely translates this verse as a verbal clause and not as a verbless clause. Consider the GNB:

GNB: *The depths of the oceans and seas say that wisdom is not found there.*

All the translations except the OA take the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* to include the predicate of the verbless clause. However, the topicalisation of the predicate is not considered and therefore much of the impact of the negative is lost. The OA, in contrast to the other text versions, takes the scope of the negative to range over the subject of the verbless clause. The OA considers the topicalisation of the predicate, but translates the predicate as a positive clause. Considering this analysis and the topicalisation in this verse, the following translation is proposed:

(89) *The primeval ocean said: Not in me is she …*

5.8 Empirical justification for the distinction between sentence- and constituent-negation

Chapters (4) and (5) expounded the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* as expressing sentence- and constituent-negation, respectively. The following discussion will illustrate that this dual expression of negation provides the means to solve an example that Sivan & Schniedewind (1993) deal with on an *ad hoc* basis by creating a new category. The example under discussion is Ezek 18[25] where the negative לֹא *lōʾ* and הֲלֹא *hᵃlōʾ* occur in the same sentence. Throughout this research it was maintained that הֲלֹא *hᵃlōʾ* is considered as the QM הַ *hᵃ* and the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. Furthermore, it was argued that the QM הַ *hᵃ* has scope over the clause with the negative exhibiting its own scope, be it sentence- or constituent-negation. Consider Ezek 18[25] in (90):

(90) Ezek 18[25]

וַאֲמַרְתֶּם לֹא יִתָּכֵן דֶּרֶךְ אֲדֹנָי שִׁמְעוּ־נָא בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל הֲדַרְכִי לֹא יִתָּכֵן הֲלֹא דַרְכֵיכֶם לֹא יִתָּכֵנוּ׃

waʾᵃmartem lōʾ yittākēn derek ʾᵃdōnāy šimʿû-nāʾ bêt yiśrāʾēl hᵃdarkî lōʾ yittākēn hᵃlōʾ darkêkem lōʾ yittākēnû

and-said-you not fair/in-order way lord do listen house israel QM-way-my not fair/in-order [QM-not] indeed ways-of-your not fair/in-order

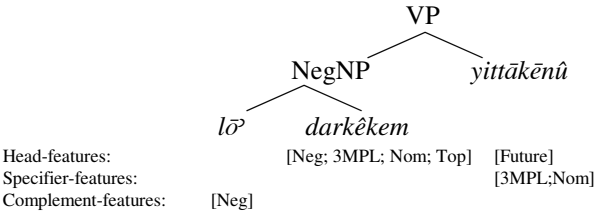
And you said, "The way of the LORD is not fair. Hear now, O house of Israel! Is my way not just? Is it not your ways, (that) are not just?"

Sivan & Schniedewind (1993: 215) translate Ezek 18[25] as follows: *Yet you say, 'The way of the LORD is not equal.' Hear now, O house of Israel! Is my way not just? Indeed, it is your ways that are not just.'* Sivan & Schniedewind state that הֲלֹא *hᵃlōʾ*, in the above example, apparently strengthens the previous rhetorical question, introduced by הֲדַרְכִי *hᵃdarkî*, *i e* with the QM הַ *hᵃ*. In such cases they propose that הֲלֹא *hᵃlōʾ* does not have a negative meaning, but that it is used asseveratively and should be interpreted as *indeed*. The question that arises is whether it is indeed difficult to understand Ezek 18[25] as having two negatives in the phrase under discussion. Cowley (1910: 483) posits that two negatives in the same sentence do not neutralise each other, but rather make the negation the more

emphatic. The following discussion will illustrate that the distinction drawn in this research between sentence- and constituent-negation, solves the issue raised by Sivan & Schniedwind (1993: 215), and that הֲלֹא *hᵃlō'* need not be discussed as an *ad hoc* proposal, creating a new category, namely that of asseverativeness.

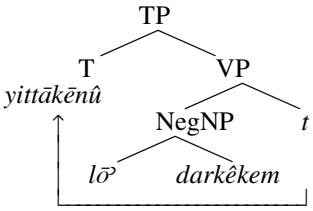
The derivation of הֲלֹא דַרְכֵיכֶם לֹא יִתָּכֵנוּ *hᵃlō' darkêkem lō' yittākēnû* begins with the selection of the item *lō'* (preceding *darkêkem*) and the fully inflected forms: the common noun *darkêkem* and the verb *yittākēnû* from the lexicon. The negative *lō'* takes *darkêkem* as complement. The latter is therefore merged with the negative *lō'* to form a NegNP (*lō'* + the common noun *darkêkem*). The verb *yittākēnû* is then merged with NegNP to form VP. These operations are illustrated in (91):

(91)



Successful checking implies that the [3MPL; Nom] specifier-features of the verb *yittākēnû* are checked against the [3MPL; Nom] head-features of *darkêkem*, with deletion of both [Nom] case-features in both categories and the [3MPL] specifier-features of the verb. The [Neg] complement-feature of *lō'* is checked against the [Neg] head-feature of *darkêkem*, with deletion of the [Neg] complement-feature. To check off the [Future] tense-feature of the verb *yittākēnû*, VP is merged with the head T, carrying the tense-feature, resulting in the phrasal category TP. The verb *yittākēnû* is then moved to T, where the checking takes place. These operations are illustrated in (92):

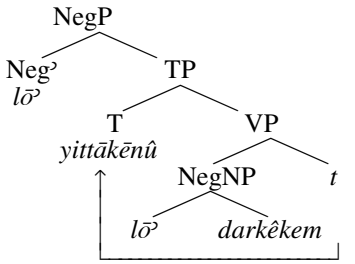
(92)



Head-features:		[Neg; 3MPL; ~~Nom~~; Top]	[Future]
Specifier-features:			[~~3MPL~~; ~~Nom~~]
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]		

In the surface-structure another negative *lō'* occurs preceding the verb *yittākēnû*. TP is therefore merged with the head Neg, filled by the negative *lō'*, resulting in NegP as illustrated in (93):

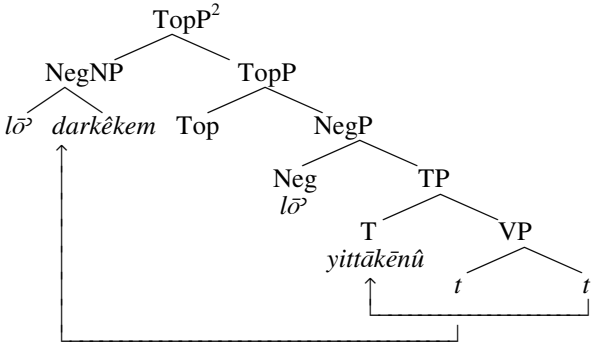
(93)



Head-features:		[Neg; 3MPL; ~~Nom~~; Top]	[Future]
Specifier-features:			[~~3MPL~~; ~~Nom~~]
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]		

The only unchecked feature is the [Top] head-feature of *darkêkem* (NegNP). To effect this checking, NegNP is merged with the head Top, resulting in TopP and the movement of NegNP (*lō'* + *darkêkem*) to the specifier position of TopP, indicated as $TopP^2$ and illustrated in (94):

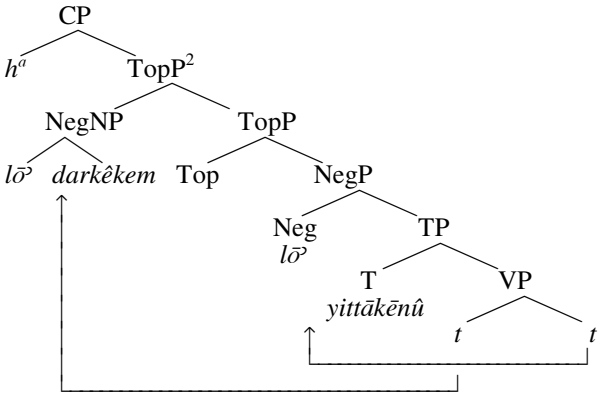
(94)



Head-features: [Neg; 3MPL; ~~Nom~~; Top] [Future]
Specifier-features: [~~3MPL~~; ~~Nom~~]
Complement-features: [~~Neg~~]

The final operation in this derivation is the merging of TopP^2 with the head C, filled by the QM ה֫ *h^a*, resulting in CP, as illustrated in (95):

(95)



Head-features: [Neg; 3MPL; ~~Nom~~; Top] [Future]
Specifier-features: [~~3MPL~~; ~~Nom~~]
Complement-features: [~~Neg~~]

Two negatives are encountered in the above example (95). The scope of both negatives is the set of nodes that they c-command. The scope of the topmost *lō*ʾ, preceding *darkêkem*, ranges only over the latter, that is, an instance of constituent-negation. The c-command domain of the second negative is TP and VP. Hence, the second negative has scope over TP and VP, that is, an instance of sentence-negation. Considering the above discussion it is evident that the two negatives in this verse render the negation more emphatic. Thus, Sivan & Schniedewind (1993)'s proposal to consider *h*ᵃ*lō*ʾ as an asseverative is rejected, as the system developed in this research clearly explains the use of constituent- and sentence-negation in the above example (95). Hence, the derivation expounded above explains this case as an example of the QM *h*ᵃ with the negative *lō*ʾ. Compared to Sivan & Schniedewind's (1993) interpretation:

> *Yet you say, 'The way of the LORD is not equal.' Hear now, O house of Israel! Is my way not just? Indeed, it is your ways that are not just.'*

The following interpretation and translation are proposed:

> *And you said, "The way of the LORD is not fair. Hear now, O house of Israel! Is my way not just? Is it not your ways, (that) are not just?"*

The QM *h*ᵃ (preceding the negative *lō*ʾ) continues the previous QM *h*ᵃ (preceding *darkî*) that introduces a yes-no question. Furthermore, the QM *h*ᵃ with the negative *lō*ʾ is used to introduce a rhetorical question, hence, a question that is indisputable. Given this exposé, it is not necessary to create *ad hoc* proposals to explain examples such as the above. Firstly then, I disagree with Sivan & Schniedewind (1993) who consider הֲדַרְכִי *h*ᵃ*darkî* as rhetorical, and would rather consider it as a yes-no question introduced by the question particle הֲ *h*ᵃ. Secondly, it is proposed that הֲלֹא *h*ᵃ*lō*ʾ continues the above yes-no question introduced by הֲ *h*ᵃ in הֲדַרְכִי *h*ᵃ*darkî*. Considering that הֲלֹא *h*ᵃ*lō*ʾ continues the previous yes-no question and is an instance of constituent-negation, the translation *indeed*, as proposed by Sievan & Schniedewind (1993), is rejected in favour of *is not.*

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on constructions containing the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the non-verbal categories. The non-verbal categories that were discussed included common nouns, proper names, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, the accusative marker and the relative particle. All these cases were found to be instances of constituent-negation with the scope of the negative ranging over the immediately following constituent. The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the above-mentioned categories was determined in terms of c-command. Each section ended with a brief discussion of the different text versions, together with an assessment of the interpretation of scope in these translations in terms of the findings of the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'*.

The following chapter will discuss the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the non-finite verbs, *i e* the participle and the infinitives (construct and absolute). Thus far, sentence- and constituent-negation have been discussed. Chapter 6 will discuss the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the participle and the infinitives (construct and absolute) exhibiting both types of negation, *i e* sentence- and constituent-negation.